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# THE LIFE AND TIMES OF WILLIAM IV,

*(See title page)*  
*INCLUDING A VIEW OF SOCIAL LIFE AND  
MANNERS DURING HIS REIGN.*

BY PERCY FITZGERALD, M.A., F.S.A.,

AUTHOR OF "THE LIFE OF GEORGE THE FOURTH,"  
"THE LIFE OF GARRICK," "A NEW HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH STAGE,"  
"KINGS AND QUEENS OF AN HOUR," ETC. ETC.

"1"

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1884.



# **THE LIFE AND TIMES OF WILLIAM IV.**



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## PREFACE.

As the political history of the reign of William IV. has been so fully dealt with by political writers—the Reform Bill having even found a historian of its own—the writer of the following Memoir has not proposed to deal with such matter, save under certain conditions, viz., where the King himself was directly connected with such incidents and figured as a leading performer. Keeping this principle in view, I have shown what part he took in all the fitful changes, and even intrigues, which attended the course of the great Reform Bill, including the various Court, or “back-stairs,” influences and plots, which were brought to bear on the royal mind. These, though alluded to by various writers of the time, will be new and interesting to most readers.

One particular object also has been kept in view. For many years past there have appeared innumerable volumes of Memoirs and Recollections, in which are given many dramatic scenes and sketches connected with eminent personages. These often make but a small portion of the volumes in question, and, buried in a mass of less interesting matter, are soon forgotten. It is certainly a gain to have such little sketches rescued from oblivion, and it is with this view that the reader will find here most of what is amusing and interesting in the books of Lords Brougham, Campbell, Broughton, of Raikes, Greville, and a vast number of other works of less pretentious writers. This plan, which I have followed in other works, may not be one that comes up to the high standard required by critics, but it at least helps to make a readable, agreeable book. As an instance, I would point to the passages taken from Lord Brougham's "Autobiography" and Lord Campbell's "Life of Lord Brougham," and which illustrate in an odd way the *tendetia* of these remarkable but acrimonious men.

I have taken particular pains to collect all the royal letters that are available. In various parts of these volumes I have called attention to the curious

changes in manners and social life which were then setting in, and which were the beginning of the "order of things" which has prevailed during the last fifty years.

I may add that these volumes complete the series of Memoirs of the Royal Family of George III., and which include "The Life of George IV." and "Lives of the Royal Dukes and Princesses."



# THE LIFE AND TIMES OF WILLIAM IV.

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## CHAPTER I.

THE third son of George III. was born on August 21st, 1765, between three and four o'clock in the morning, at Buckingham Palace, in the presence of the Princess Dowager of Wales, of the Lord Chancellor, and other functionaries. He was christened William Henry, after his uncle, the Duke of Gloucester, Archbishop Secker performing the ceremony, porter being lavishly distributed to the crowd on the occasion. The usual addresses and felicitations were freely presented to their Majesties on the auspicious event, that of the Corporation of London exciting some surprise from the significant and guarded tone of its congratulations :

“ Permit us therefore, Royal Sir,” it ran, “ to assure your Majesty that your faithful citizens of London, from their zealous attachment to your Royal House, and the true honour and dignity of your crown, whenever a happy establishment of public measures shall present a favourable occasion, will be ready to exert their utmost abilities in support of such wise counsels as apparently tend to render your Majesty’s reign happy and glorious.”

To which the King answered :

"I thank you for this dutiful address. Your congratulations on the further increase of my family, and your assurances of zealous attachment to it, cannot but be very agreeable to me. I have nothing so much at heart as the welfare and happiness of my people; and have the greatest satisfaction in every event that may be an additional security to those civil and religious liberties, upon which the prosperity of these kingdoms depends."

In due course, preceptors were appointed—the Messrs. Arnold and Majendie; but these soon gave place to a Swiss colonel, one Budé, recommended to the King by another Swiss, De Salzes. This officer had been page to the Prince of Orange, and had served in the Sardinian army. "His religion," says one of his biographers, "was founded on the firm base of unadulterated Christianity." He was also appointed commander of the Hanoverian troops, though not obliged to be with his corps.\* He afterwards became private secretary to the Duke of York. Bishop Butler paid a visit to Windsor in 1778, when Prince William was only thirteen, and Mrs. Chapone records the favourable impression made upon the visitor.

"I was pleased," she says, "with all the princes,

\* "When I returned here," writes Miss Burney, in 1786, "to the conclusion of the tea-drinking, I found a new gentleman, dressed in the King's Windsor uniform—which is blue and gold, turned up with red, and worn by all the men who belong to His Majesty, and come into his presence at Windsor. It was General Budé: what his post may be I have not yet learned, but he is continually, I am told, at Windsor, and always resides in this lodge, and eats with the equerries. I do not quite know what to say of General Budé, except that his person is tall and showy, and his manners and appearance are fashionable. But he has a sneer in his smile that looks sarcastic, and a distance in his manner that seems haughty."

but particularly with Prince William, who is little of his age, but so sensible and engaging, that he won the bishop's heart, to whom he particularly attached himself, and would stay with him while all the rest ran about the house. His conversation was surprisingly manly and clever for his age—yet, with the young Bullers, he was quite the boy ; and said to John Buller, by way of encouraging him to talk, ‘Come, we are both boys, you know.’ All of them showed affectionate respect to the bishop ; and the Prince of Wales pressed his hand so hard, that he hurt it.”

A choice had presently to be made of a profession, and as all his brothers and uncles had served or were to serve in the army, the King determined that one at least of his sons should belong to the sister service. It was currently reported that the young Prince had an objection to this choice, which condemned him to a dull, uninteresting life, and removed him from the scenes of pleasures to which so many of his family were so partial. With His Majesty, however, objections of this kind were but a reason for enforcing his will, and the harsh banishment of Prince Edward showed how severely he could enforce his royal wishes. On the 15th June, 1779, accordingly, he was appointed midshipman on the *Prince George*, ninety-eight guns, flagship of Admiral Digby. This was no ornamental or amateur office, as war was being waged with France, and a few days or hours even after sailing might bring on an engagement. On the night before his departure the King gave his son some sound advice, and presented him with a Bible.

He was then an “offhand” young fellow, and many anecdotes were told as to his readiness of tongue, and manly bearing to his comrades. When sneeringly asked

"by what name he was rated on the ship's books ?" he replied, that his father's was Guelph, though he himself was entered as Prince William Henry ; but they were welcome to call him William Guelph. It was also related how, in a quarrel with a companion, who was younger and delicate, he had been struck by the latter ; but the Prince restrained himself, only saying that, on reflection, the other would see that he had done him a wrong.

This first expedition was a sort of naval " promenade," to watch the French and Spanish fleets, which had boldly come up the Channel, and were threatening the coasts. This ended rather ingloriously for the English fleet, the enemy being allowed to retire without an encounter. Had the fleets fought the young Prince would have seen a serious and terrible battle.

His next cruise was under Rodney, whose squadron was despatched to the Spanish coast to convoy a large fleet of merchant vessels. The English fleet was fortunate enough to capture off Sandwich a Spanish convoy of sixteen vessels, with seven men-of-war, and in his despatches the commander was glad to compliment the Court in this ingenious fashion :

" As I thought it highly necessary to send a sixty-four-gun ship to protect so valuable a convoy, I have commissioned, officered, and manned the Spanish ship-of-war, of the same rate, and named her the *Prince William*, in respect to His Royal Highness, in whose presence she had the honour to be taken."

Off Cape St. Vincent, on January 16th, they fell in with another fleet, belonging to the luckless Spaniards, commanded by Don Juan de Langara, and consisting of sixteen sail of the line, of which, after a severe engagement, some were blown up, others ran ashore, and some were captured. It was when the Spanish admiral was

visiting his English conqueror that a truly characteristic incident occurred. Colonel Drinkwater, the historian of the siege of Gibraltar, relates, that when the Spaniard was about to leave the ship, a young midshipman in charge of the barge came respectfully to announce that it was waiting. When the admiral learned that this was the son of the King of England, he could not contain his astonishment, and exclaimed, "Well does Great Britain deserve the empire of the seas when the humblest stations in her navy are filled by her princes."

During this expedition there were many other stories reported of this young sailor Prince—his good nature and combativeness. He seems to have been put on his defence by the old insinuation that he was favoured by being the King's son. This was cast in his teeth by young Sturt of Crichel, then a midshipman, and the Prince instantly offered "to fight him over a chest." He then declined, as he had the superiority in age and strength, on which handsome self-denial both shook hands. With a Lieutenant Moodie, of the Marines, he had a serious encounter; the lieutenant having declared that "but for his coat he would give him a basting." The Prince gallantly stripped his off, and a desperate set-to followed, and continued until a superior officer stopped the combat. "You are a brave fellow, though you are a marine," said the Prince.\* At Gibraltar where the fleet put in, the royal midshipman indulged in various

\* This recalls Fox's delightful speech after his duel with Dundas, the dispute arising from reflections on "the Government powder," for which Dundas was responsible. When Fox was wounded, "You would have killed me," he said, as they were reconciled, "if it hadn't been Government powder."

escapades in company with Mr. Beauclerk and another companion of a noble family. At a tavern these young fellows got into a brawl with one, who loudly maintained that Rodney "had not given so good an account of the Spanish fleet as he might have done," a sentiment he was required to withdraw. A regular *mélée* ensued, which ended in three young midshipmen being carried off to the watch-house.

The situation of a midshipman in those days was subject to the rudest conditions. Young lads of tender age were put in command of boats and sent to attack the enemy's ships. They lived on the coarsest fare, and were roughly and cruelly treated. Cruikshank, in a series of vigorous and dramatic plates, has given a panorama of the midshipman's life—scenes of the coarsest revelry and riot, of dirt and squalor; while Captains Chamier and Hall, in their stirring novels and sketches, have described all the incidents of a sea officer's life.\* Morals were not for an instant thought of.

"I always gave it as my opinion," says the former, "that a midshipman's boy in a frigate, having about fourteen masters and no assistant, is about as cursed a situation as the vengeance of a man could suggest—a galley-slave he is in every sense of the word."

"Cups were used instead of glasses. The souptureen, a heavy, lumbering piece of block tin, pounded into shape, was, for want of a ladle, emptied with an everlasting tea-cup; the forks were wiped on the table-cloth by the persons about to use them, and who, to save eating more than was requisite of actual dirt, always plunged them through the tablecloth to clean

\* When the *Royal George* went down there were on board some two hundred women, who were officially "recognised" when the vessel was in port.

between the prongs. Of course, as only one tablecloth was used during the week, on the Saturday it was voted always dirty enough to be put in a bag, to await its ablution. The rest of the furniture was not much cleaner; now and then an empty bottle served as a candlestick; and I have known both a shoe and a quadrant-case used as a soup-plate. One almost shirtless boy to attend upon fourteen aspiring heroes—heroes who commanded by right of years and strength, and not by birth. The business of the toilet was finished in the dark, on his own chest in the steerage, the watch below cleaning the decks at the moment. He dressed and undressed in public; the basin was invariably of pewter; and the wet towels, dirty head-brush, etc. etc., were, after use, deposited in his chest. A hammock served as a bed, and so closely were we all stowed in the war, that the side of one hammock always touched that of another; fourteen inches being declared quite sufficient space for one tired midshipman to sleep in. How my first evening went I have, thank God, quite forgotten. I only remember that, at about nine o'clock, Mr. M'Queen stuck a large fork in the table; instantly all the youngsters retired to bed."

Prince William, however, is said to have had a special allowance for his table—a thousand a year, which seems to have been handsome enough for a "middy."

The Prince was soon despatched home, arriving in London on March 8th. He was introduced at Court, and presented his father with the flag of the Spanish admiral, and also a plan of the Gibraltar fortifications, which he himself had made. The nation was delighted with this early promise, and the people of London in particular were filled with a tumultuous enthusiasm,

and when he visited Drury Lane Theatre there was danger of many being crushed to death. His exploits—such as they were—were sung by the Poet Laureate, Mr. Pye, in the following strains :

Now last, not least in love, the Muse  
Her William's name would fondly chuse  
The British youth among.

Still may the sailors love thy name,  
And happy wealth and blooming fame,  
Awake the future song.

So in the spring the promis'd rose  
First buds, and budding gently blows  
Beneath the morning dew ;  
Till nourished by a warmer ray,  
The blushing leaves their sweets display,  
And fragrance ever new.

E'en now the sea-green sisters bind  
A wreath around thy growing mind,  
And deck their favourite son.

E'en now the Bourbon colours meet,  
Which laying at thy father's feet,  
Thou tell'st how bravely won.

The young man was meanwhile employing his holiday in learning from his elder brothers how to enjoy the wild pleasures of the town, frequently masquerading at Vauxhall and Ranelagh. At one of these places a tar got into a conflict with a Spanish grandee, which ended as usual in the watch-house ; when, on unmasking, it was found that the latter was the Prince of Wales, and the tar Prince William. This sort of roysterling may have contributed to the shortening of his furlough, for on Admiral Geary setting sail from Spithead in May, the Prince had to join his vessel, and sail with him. The cruise was a short one, for the fleet returned in August. On the 18th of this month the admiral

struck his flag, celebrating the occasion by a farewell dinner to his captains. When the King's health was given, the young Prince, "to the surprise of all present," we are told, made a speech. As this was the first of a long series of rather long-winded speeches, all more or less characteristic, and, towards the close of his life, marked by something like incoherence, it may be given entire :

"Admiral Geary, and Captains of the Fleet,—You may, perhaps, deem it presumptuous in me to present myself to your notice on this occasion, to return you my most sincere thanks for the loyal manner in which you have drank my royal father's health. As a father, I am proud to speak of him with all the fulness of filial affection, and I am certain that there are few monarchs, who have swayed the sceptre of these realms, to whom the title of the father of his people is more justly due. Involved as the nation is at present in a most unnatural war, for it cannot be considered in any other character than that of a child fighting against its parent, it becomes everyone to join heart and hand to bring the rebellion to a speedy and fortunate issue, and to crush the insidious enemies, who have so dishonourably to themselves entered into an alliance with the revolutionists, with the hope of reducing this great and noble nation to the lowest rank in the scale of nations, and with the avowed intent of wresting from it its foreign possessions and distressing its trade and commerce. I am proud to say that the safety, the glory and honour of the country depend upon its navy, and when I see myself surrounded by such men as are here present, I have no fear for the stability of my father's crown, the integrity of his foreign possessions, or the safety of my country. We are now fighting single-handed, the

combined naval powers of France and Spain ; it becomes us not to underrate a gallant and enterprising enemy ; but in awarding them the merit which belongs to them, I consider that our merit will be the greater, if we obtain a victory over them, and which I make no doubt will always be the case, whenever they will give us an opportunity of trying our strength with them. For myself, individually, I shall consider those days as the proudest and the noblest in my life, in which I may be called upon to shed my blood in the defence of my father's flag, and should I ever be called upon to lead his fleet against his enemies, my first study shall be to imitate the example of that brave and noble officer who has done me the honour this day to invite me to his table, and whose retirement from the command of the Channel fleet must be a source of regret to all who have had an opportunity of witnessing the high degree of nautical skill which he has displayed on the most trying occasions, his determined bravery in the hour of battle, and his general devotedness to the cause of his country. I request you will accept of my apology for this intrusion upon your time, and if I have not delivered myself with the graces of elocution, I am certain that I have spoken with all the sincerity of a sailor's heart, who glories in the profession to which his father has appointed him, and who, he most sincerely hopes, will never be induced by any dishonourable act, unworthy of the British sailor, or the rank in life to which he was born, to sully the flag under which he fights, or tarnish the character which belongs to him as a British subject. I hope I am not out of order in requesting you to fill your glasses, and drink to the health of Admiral Geary."

However, only a week after his return he had to

set sail again. It was said that another reason for his departure was an early passion he conceived for a young lady, Miss Fortescue, and which gave much displeasure to his father.

On this occasion he made part of the expedition that was to relieve Gibraltar under Admiral Darby, who had nearly 300 vessels in charge. He thus witnessed that stirring and oft-described scene, which makes one of the most brilliant pages in English naval annals—perhaps the most discreditable in those of the other powers. After this he repaired to New York, where he arrived in August, and was cordially received by all loyalists, being the first Prince of the Royal Family that had landed there. While in the capital he lived with the Commander-in-Chief, and his careless gay habit of wandering about in search of adventures, often without a companion, led to an adventure which might have caused the most serious and unpleasant annoyance. The plan was detailed in the American papers, and there seems no reason for doubting the truth of the story.

"While the Prince was enjoying himself in the city of New York, a daring plan was formed, by some adventurous partisans of the revolutionary army, to pounce upon him, and carry him off from the midst of his friends and guards. The deviser of this plan was Colonel Ogden, an officer who had served with great bravery in the revolutionary army from the very commencement of the war, and whose regiment at that time was stationed in the province (now State) of New Jersey.

"The present statement is drawn up from documents still preserved by the family of Colonel Ogden, a copy of which has been obtained from one of his sons.

The Prince, at that time, was living on shore with Admiral Digby, in quarters slightly guarded more for form than security, no particular danger being apprehended. The project of Colonel Ogden was to land secretly on a stormy night with a small, but resolute force, to surprise and carry off the Prince and the admiral to the boats, and to make for the Jersey shore. The plan was submitted to General Washington, who sanctioned it under the idea that the possession of the person of the Prince would facilitate the adjustment of affairs with the mother country, and a recognition of the United States as an independent nation.

"The following is a copy of the letter of General Washington to Colonel Ogden. The whole of the original is in the handwriting of the general:

"TO COLONEL OGDEN, OF THE FIRST JERSEY REGIMENT.

"SIR,

"The spirit of enterprise so conspicuous in your plan for surprising in their quarters, and bringing off, the Prince William Henry and Admiral Digby, merits applause; and you have my authority to make the attempt in any manner, and at such a time, as your judgment may direct.

"I am fully persuaded, that it is unnecessary to caution you against offering insult or indignity to the persons of the Prince or Admiral, should you be so fortunate as to capture them; but it may not be amiss to press the propriety of a proper line of conduct upon the party you command.

"In case of success, you will, as soon as you get them to a place of safety, treat them with all possible respect; but you are to delay no time in conveying

them to Congress, and reporting your proceeding with a copy of these orders.

"Given at Morris Town, this 28th day of March, 1782.

"G. WASHINGTON.

"NOTE.—Take care not to touch upon the ground which is agreed to be neutral—viz., from Rayway to Newark, and four miles back.'

"Before relating the particulars of this plan, it may be expedient to state that the city of New York is situated on the point of an island which advances into the centre of a capacious bay. A narrow arm of the sea, vulgarly called the East River, separates it on the left from Long or Nassau Island; and the Hudson, commonly called the North River, separates it from the State of New Jersey. The British army was in possession of the city, and was strengthened by a fleet; but the opposite bank of the Hudson, which is about two miles wide, was under the power of Congress, and the revolutionary army was stationed at no great distance in New Jersey, in a winter encampment of wooden huts. The party that should undertake this enterprise would have to embark in boats for the Jersey shore; and it was essential that the whole affair should be accomplished between sun and sun.

"The following is the plan, copied from the original, in the handwriting of Colonel Ogden:

"It will be necessary to have four whale-boats, (which can be procured without cause for suspicion); they must be well manned by their respective crews, including guides, etc.; besides these, one captain, one subaltern, three sergeants, and thirty-six men, with whom the boats can row with ease. N.B.—It is known

where the boats are, and that they can be collected without suspicion with their oarsmen ; and it is taken for granted the owners will not object, though, for fear of giving the least cause of alarm, nothing has yet been said to them. The time of embarkation must be the first wet night after we are prepared. The place is not yet agreed on, as it will be necessary to consult those skilled in the tides previous to determining, which must be put off until we are as nearly prepared as possible, for fear of inferences being drawn from our inquiries. We must, however, set off from such part of the Jersey shore as will give us time to be in the city by half-past nine. The men must be embarked in the order of debarkation.

"The Prince quarters in Hanover Square, and has two sentinels from the 40th British Regiment, that are quartered in Lord Stirling's old quarters in Broad Street, two hundred yards from the scene of action. The main guard, consisting of a captain and forty men, is posted at the City Hall—a sergeant and twelve at the head of the old slip—a sergeant and twelve opposite the coffee-house : these are troops we may be in danger from, and must be guarded against. The place of landing, at Coenties Market, between the two sergeants' guards, at the head of the old slip and opposite the coffee-house.

"The order of debarkation to agree with the mode of attack, as follows : Two men with a guide, seconded by two others, for the purpose of seizing the sentinels ; these men to be armed with naked bayonets and dressed in sailors' habits : they are not to wait for anything, but immediately execute their orders. Eight men, including guides, with myself, preceded by two men with each a crowbar and two with each an axe—these

for the purpose of forcing the doors, should they be fast—and followed by four men entering the house, and seizing the young Prince, the admiral, the young noblemen, aides, etc. A captain and eighteen to follow briskly, form, and defend the house until the business is finished, and retreat a half gun-shot in our rear. A subaltern and fourteen, with half of the remaining of the boat's crew, to form on the right and left of the boats, and defend them until we return: the remainder of the crews to hold the boats in the best possible position for embarking. Necessary—two crowbars, two axes, four dark lanterns, and four large oil-clothes.

"The manner of returning as follows: Six men with guns and bayonets, with those unemployed in carrying off the prisoners, to precede those engaged in that business, followed by the captain (joined by the four men from the sentry) at a half gunshot distance, who are to halt and give a front to the enemy, until the whole are embarked in the following order:

"1st, the prisoners, with those preceding them; 2nd, the guides and boatmen; 3rd, the subalterns and fourteen; 4th, the rear."

That Washington not only abetted but approved of this plan, is evident from several letters of his which were written about this time. In one of his letters he quotes from a secret despatch, dated March 23rd, sent to him from his spies in New York:

"Great seems to be their apprehension here. About a fortnight ago a great number of flat boats were discovered by a sentinel from the bank of the river (Hudson's), which are said to have been intended to fire the suburbs, and in the height of the conflagration to make a descent on the lower part of the city, and wrest from our embraces His Excellency Sir H. Clinton, Prince

William Henry, and several other illustrious personages, since which great precautions have been taken for the security of those gentlemen, by augmenting the guards, and to render their persons as little exposed as possible."

In another letter, dated Newburgh, April 2nd, 1782, he writes : "After I wrote to you from Morris Town, I received information that the sentries at the door of Sir Henry Clinton were doubled at eight o'clock every night, from an apprehension of an attempt to surprise him in them. If this be true, it is more than probable the same precaution extends to other personages in the city of New York, a circumstance I thought it proper for you to be advised upon."

## CHAPTER II.

AFTER this escape the Prince saw some service, now cruising, now capturing privateers, etc. He next sailed in the *Warwick*, with Captain Elphinstone, afterwards Lord Keith, and, with a view of learning more of his profession,\* he passed under the command of Sir S. Hood, with whom, in November, he sailed for Jamaica. This expedition was interesting, as it brought our sailor Prince his acquaintance with Nelson, with whom he ever afterwards maintained a warm friendship. Of this meeting the Prince himself long after gave an interesting account at Bushey Park to Dr. Clarke, Canon of Windsor, dwelling with natural pride on the circumstances. Nelson was then only twenty-four years old. "I was then," he would say, "a midshipman on board the *Barfleur*, lying in the Narrows off Staten Island, and had the watch on deck, when Captain

\* Mr. James Williams had been his teacher, who had risen from being "a foremast man" until he attained the rank of first lieutenant. At this time, Mr., afterwards Sir R. Keats, was second lieutenant on board the *Prince George*. "Mr. Keats had received a very liberal education under his father, who was a clergyman and master of the grammar school at Tiverton, which, being combined with great affability and pleasing manners, rendered him a fit person to perfect Prince William in every branch of his profession."

Nelson, of the *Albemarle*, came in his barge alongside. He appeared to be the merest boy of a captain I ever beheld, and his dress was worthy of attention. He had on a full-laced uniform, his lank unpowdered hair was tied in a stiff Hessian tail of an extraordinary length ; the old-fashioned flaps of his waistcoat, added to his general quaintness of his figure, produced an appearance which particularly attracted my notice, for I had never seen anything like it before, nor could I imagine who he was, nor what he came about. My doubts were, however, removed when Lord Hood introduced me to him. There was something irresistibly pleasing in his address and conversation ; and an enthusiasm, when speaking on professional subjects, that showed he was no common being. Nelson, after this, went with us to the West Indies, and served under Lord Hood's flag during his indefatigable cruise off Cape François. Throughout the whole of the American War the height of Nelson's ambition was to command a line-of-battle ship ; as for prize-money, it never entered his thoughts ; he had always in view the character of his maternal uncle. I found him warmly attached to my father, and singularly humane. He had the honour of the King's service, and the independence of the British navy, particularly at heart, and his mind glowed with this idea as much when he was simply captain of the *Albemarle*, and had obtained none of the honours of his country, as when he was afterwards decorated with so much well-earned distinction."

This is an interesting seaman's sketch.

When staying at Port Royal he again fell in with Nelson, and it is pleasant to read the favourable opinion of that gallant young captain, imparted to a friend. The Prince was now in the *Barfleur*.

"My situation in Lord Hood's fleet must be in the highest degree flattering to any young man ; he treats me as if I were his son, and will, I am convinced, give me anything I can ask of him. Nor is my situation with Prince William less flattering. Lord Hood was so kind as to tell him (indeed, I cannot make use of expressions strong enough to describe what I felt), that if he wished to ask questions relative to naval tactics, I could give him as much information as any officer in the fleet. He will be, I am certain, an ornament to our service. He is a seaman, which you could hardly suppose, with every other qualification you may expect from him ; but he will be a disciplinarian, and a strong one. A vast deal of notice has been taken of him at Jamaica ; he has been addressed by the Council, and the House of Assembly was to address him the day after I sailed. He has levees at Spanish Town ; they are all highly delighted with him. With the best temper, and great good sense, he cannot fail of being pleasing to everyone."

He at this time received a gratifying compliment from the Spanish Governor of the Havannah, and which was conceived in an antique spirit of chivalry. Some English prisoners, whom he had captured and released on parole, repaid his liberal treatment by entering into a conspiracy to seize the town, and induced some of the inhabitants to join them. It was discovered, and they were sentenced to death. Peace, however, being now proclaimed, the Governor, Don Galvez, wrote the following letter to Prince Henry :

"SIR,

"Cape François, April 6, 1783.

"The Spanish troops cantoned throughout the country have not, as the French, had the happiness to

take up their arms to salute your Royal Highness, nor that of paying you those marks of respect and consideration which are your due : it is what they will ever regret.

"I have in confinement, at Louisiana, the principal person concerned in the revolt at Nachez, with some of his accomplices. They have forfeited their parole and oath of fidelity. A council of war, founded on equitable laws, has condemned them to death, and the execution of their sentence waits only my confirmation, as governor of the colony. They are all English. Will you be pleased, Sir, to accept their pardon and their lives, in the name of the Spanish army, and of my King ? It is, I trust, the greatest present that can be offered to one Prince in the name of another. Mine is generous, and will approve my conduct.

"In case your Royal Highness deigns to interest yourself for these unfortunate men, I have the honour to send enclosed an order for their being delivered the moment any vessel arrives at Louisiana communicating your pleasure. We shall consider ourselves happy, if this can be agreeable to you.

"I have the honour to be, etc.,

"B. D. GALVEZ."

PRINCE WILLIAM TO DON B. GALVEZ.

"Port Royal, Jamaica, April 13, 1783.

"SIR,

"I want words to express to your Excellency my just sense of your polite letter, of the delicate manner in which you caused it to be delivered, and your generous conduct towards the unfortunate. Their pardon, which you have been pleased to grant on my

account, is the most agreeable present you could have offered me, and is strongly characteristic of the bravery and gallantry of the Spanish nation. This instance increases, if possible, my opinion of your Excellency's humanity, which has appeared on so many occasions in the course of the late war.

"Admiral Rowley is to despatch a vessel to Louisiana for the prisoners; I am convinced they will ever think of your Excellency's clemency with gratitude; and I have sent a copy of your letter to the King my father, who will be fully sensible of your Excellency's attention to me.

" WILLIAM HENRY."\*

The fleet being now ordered home, the Prince was transferred to another vessel, for a pleasant cruise. He was accompanied by Nelson in the *Albemarle*. They arrived at the Havannah in May, where he was welcomed by the Spanish Admiral, Don Solano, by whom he was entertained, and who held reviews, processions—with all the captains of the fleet in their respective barges. Don Solano had, moreover, two lovely daughters—one, named Donna Maria, only sixteen years of age, but rather awkwardly described as "one of those grand commanding figures which history has pointed to as a Cleopatra or a Messalina." The young Prince was quite fascinated by this lady, and his attentions excited the ire and jealousy of the Spaniards. He at last departed from this agreeable Capua. His friend Nelson had now to separate from him and sail on a different service,

\* It is said there was much dissatisfaction in England at the Prince's accepting this favour, it being maintained that the men ought to have been left to their fate, as having dishonoured themselves and their country.

but arrived in England just one day before the Prince, who landed at Spithead on June 26, 1783.

Here the Prince was allowed to remain only a few weeks, and was then despatched abroad to the courts in company with his brother, under a German guidance of two "bear-leaders," the General Budé formerly alluded to, and a naval officer, whom Prince William had known on his last cruise. The party left Buckingham House on July 31st, 1783, for Greenwich, off which their vessel was lying. The young Prince, even at this early age, showed a natural and genial interest in those who had served with him or under him, and made it a point to inquire about them and look after their interests. It was thus that he asked to see an eccentric old sailor who had shown attachment to him and used to call him "my Royal William." This tar had been wounded in one of the Spanish engagements. "Let me first see John Adams," was the Prince's remark. "Well, my Royal William!" said the old tar, "I am comfortably brought up at last, and thanks to you for it—you promised me, when you visited me in my berth after the action with the lubberly Dons, that you would find a berth for me for life, and I am now here safely moored. Thanks to you, my Royal William." His Royal Highness inquired of the old commodore how many there were in the hospital who were in the action with Langara, and he was informed that there were thirteen, on which he handed thirteen guineas to Sir Hugh Palliser, to be distributed amongst his old shipmates; and putting two guineas into the hand of the old commodore, he told him never to want for a glass of grog, or a quid of tobacco, as long as he had a guinea to give him. "I'll drink your health this very night, my Royal William," said the veteran, and kept his word.

When he reached Hanover he met his brother, the Bishop of Osnaburgh. Both, according to the usual fashion, assumed travelling names, Prince William taking the odd one of "Lord Fielding," his brother that of Count Hoya. At Hanover the roystering pair indulged in gambling, and here the sailor Prince had an adventure with one of those German gamblers who frequented the play-tables—one Baron Hardulz, who was said to have allowed the Prince to win a good stake at first, to induce him to venture further. Warned by a friend of the character of this adventurer, the Prince declined "to give him his revenge," as it was called. In consequence the Baron was loud in his abuse of the Prince, whose friend, Captain Merrick, with much spirit called upon the Baron for a retractation. As soon as Prince William heard of this dispute, he at once took the quarrel on himself, and sent "a friend" (Captain Campbell, of the Scots Guards) with a demand for an apology or a settlement of time, place, and choice of weapons. The other guardian of the Prince, General Budé, now thought it time to interfere, and setting on foot inquiries as to the Baron, soon discovered his history and antecedents. These he discovered through a Countess Stolberg; and having thus got the Baron into his power, he gave him six hours to make an apology, or else suffer a public exposure. The Baron judiciously chose the former, and the matter happily terminated.

The allowance to the Princes was on the usual niggardly scale. Prince William was said to receive only £100 a year for his pocket money, while the sum allowed for travelling expenses was on the most contracted scale. We have seen the pittance given to Prince Edward, and it was a singular retribution that

this penurious system in all the instances where it was applied led in the end to debts and extravagance, which had to be defrayed by the country.

The Prince and his brothers next found their way to Berlin, where they were entertained by the great Frederick, of whom it is recorded that he showed disgust when he found that Prince William had not read "Candide." He took them with him to Silesia to show them some soldiering. The Prince next repaired to Gottingen, where, at his special request, the well-known Michaelis delivered a lecture. The professor could not resist the opportunity of uttering some lofty platitudes on the duties of royal families, which, being printed at the desire of the Prince, excited the displeasure of George III. and the authorities, and caused him the loss of his situation. After sojourning at various German towns and falling in love with Fräulein Schinbach, who was, however, eventually disposed of to Captain Merrick, H.R.H.'s bear-leader, the Prince repaired to Italy, and having thus made the grand tour, was at last allowed to return to London.\*

These travels have supplied an occasion for bringing forward a romantic story of a private or "left-handed" marriage, which the Prince contracted in Hanover in 1790 with Caroline von Linsingen, and whom, after much passionate correspondence, he deserted. A volume of these

\* On the evening of his arrival his brother was holding a fête at Carlton House, who, leaving Lord and Lady Southampton to do the honours of the evening, repaired to Buckingham House to welcome home his brother, and invite him to join his party. "Eh ! what !" exclaimed the King. "Eh ! what ! take William away ! take William away ! he shan't go—he shan't go !—just arrived from Hanover—want to know how things are going on there—fine stud ! fine stud !" The Prince persisted. "Shan't go ! shan't go !" again exclaimed the monarch—"better with his mother to-night."

letters was published, written in a sort of "Werther" vein, but suggesting to one experienced in such things those sham love-letters of Sterne, which Coombe and other manufacturers used to contribute to magazines of their time. A more transparent imposition could not be conceived. All the "facts" are wrong. The Prince was not in Hanover in 1790; he was not attended by a General Linsingen, father of the heroine, but by General Budé. He is also represented as being accompanied by a "Lord Dutton," name unknown to our peerage, and one Ernst. But a specimen of this imposition will be sufficient.

"The marriage took place on the 21st of August, 1791, near Pyrmont, where the Linsingen family and Prince William, Duke of Clarence, with his brother, the Duke of York, were then staying. The latter, whose reputation gains little by what is said of him in the letters, had arrived at this watering-place in time to celebrate his brother's birthday. Here one should read the extremely interesting description of the ball on the night preceding the clandestine marriage (Caroline to Teubner, p. 70). How William's jealousy is kindled at the familiar tone adopted by his brother towards Caroline, by which it nearly came about that all had been discovered; how Caroline's father, according to custom, places her hand in that of her partner in the dance, and how she, bending forward, says, as if to out-trick fate, 'You are giving him to me for life, father!' and how the venerable old man, seeming to half comprehend the agitation he cannot but notice, replies: 'Would that ye could have your wish, but that cannot be;' how Caroline, before retiring, hastens again to her father's arms, as if to ask his pardon for all the cares she is now about to bring upon him—all this has great

dramatic force : it is full of the utmost freshness and life.

"As one of the many delicate touches with which the letters abound, Caroline relates, among other things, how on her brother Ernst's attempting to crown her with a myrtle-wreath, William springs forward to wrest it from him. This being resisted, a good-humoured dispute ensued. 'To my gratification,' says Ernst, with emotion in his voice, 'you both forgot this beautiful emblem : no daughter of our house can wed without it. It is for Caroline, this crown ; yet is it not therefore yours also, beloved Prince ? William, brother,' he added, in broken tones, 'to-day you are giving her all—are leading her on to a paradise of bliss. Oh let it be mine, too, to do something for the beauteous one whom I to-day give wholly to your keeping—she of whom I rob myself, whom I entrust to you.' Thereupon the Prince himself leads him up to the beautiful bride, who stands there dissolved in tears, and Ernst sets the wreath upon her brow. Dutton soon after this conducts her to the chapel, where the Prince, with Jackson, his faithful attendant, Parsons, the minister, and George, the Duke of York, were already in waiting. Ernst, filling the place of his father, gives the bride away and leads her up to the altar, where she kneels down between him and Dutton. 'William's responses,' she writes, 'were uttered in a clear and solemn tone, although he trembled no less violently than myself. Indescribable were my feelings as in the gray haze of morning (it was between five and six o'clock) I gave myself up wholly to my beloved.' " \*

\* It might seem scarcely worth while noticing this production, but for the fact that it was accepted quite *au sérieux* by the English press. The *Westminster Review*, in a long article, gravely debated the

question *pro* and *con*. The *Times* declared it was "of extreme interest from a psychological point of view. . . . No contemporary of his in this country appears to have had the faintest suspicion that the honest or silly sailor Prince had ever been susceptible of romantic love, or enjoyed the gift of writing in a tone of Wertherian sentiment." The *Daily News* thus describes it: "As a matter of history the story is deserving of more critical investigation than it has yet received. . . . The name of Baron Reichenbach, the well-known philosopher, is a sufficient guarantee for the good faith of his narrative."

However, it is not difficult to discover the material out of which this legend has been constructed; and Mr. Huish, the eminent *chiffonier* in such matters, supplies them. During his residence in Hanover the Prince had formed a connection with a lady there, whom he is said to have repudiated with her offspring. She came to London, furnished with legal papers, &c., attesting the truth of her case. Advertisements were put in the papers, and the Prince found himself obliged to make some arrangement in the way of allowance, &c., and sent her back to Hanover. This, beyond question, is the foundation of the Linsingen legend.

### CHAPTER III.

AT this point it will be interesting to look back and see of what stuff British captains and British admirals were made in those old days. Such is well known from the more general accounts of exploits such as the innumerable sea-fights fought under Nelson, Howe, St. Vincent, Cochrane, Collingwood, and other famous commanders. The naval biographies, which fill a large department of the library, are astonishing records of gallantry and heroism; but more remarkable and less known are the achievements of inferior and obscure men—the unparalleled display of desperate gallantry in the ordinary round of duty. Not less remarkable, too, was the abundance of other gifts and qualities which supplemented this bravery and made it doubly effective, viz. sagacity, coolness, prompt resolution in difficulty, and that surprising instinct which knows when a perilous enterprise may be attempted, from reliance on a knowledge of the opposing enemy. These extraordinary enterprises almost take the breath away, and in one respect offer a singular contrast to the mode now in fashion, when ordinary services are requited by the most lavish distribution of honours and rewards. In those days men like Collingwood were delighted to

receive a medallion as the guerdon, and were often refused the promotion of a deserving officer. Nothing, however, will exhibit the prowess of these so well as a short account of some officers whose names are known but to few, and whose glories are unsung save in the chronicles of their day. They were the Paladins of the great war, who did their work in a quiet, unostentatious fashion. These were the brave Captains Faulkner, father and son, forgotten now, but the story shows what desperate stuff there was in our seamen—the calm calculation, the coolness in danger, and the amazing power of doing by attempting to do.

These Faulkners belonged to a family of "sea-dogs," who for four or five generations had fought for their country. No less than seven or eight of these gallant captains and admirals could be counted. But Captain Robert Faulkner, who flourished about the middle of last century, and his son, were the most conspicuous. After attaining to the command of the *Bellona*, a seventy-four, and 550 men, he signalised himself by his famous action with *Le Courageux*, in August, 1761. The dry, modest report by the victor is as follows: "Be pleased," he says—from which one would suppose that some ordinary business-like exploit had been performed—"to acquaint my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that on the fourteenth instant, at three P.M., we saw three sail in the S.W. quarter. We immediately gave chase, and by their crowding from us soon suspected them to be enemies. We came up but slowly with them, and continued the chase all night. At five A.M. we got almost up with the frigates; at six the *Brilliant* began to engage one of them, and soon after the other also. At twenty-five minutes after six we came alongside the large ship, and began to engage as near as

possible ; at thirty-four minutes after six our mizen-mast went away by the enemy's shot, and at forty-five minutes after six the enemy's mizen-mast went over the side. At four minutes after seven the large ship struck, which proved *Le Courageux*, of seventy-four guns, commanded by M. du Gué Lambert, having on board 700 men, from St. Domingo. The *Brilliant* continued to engage the two frigates ; at half-past seven the French frigates bore away, and neither of our ships were in a condition to pursue them ; at the same time the prize's main-mast went away. We found our lower rigging much cut ; the fore-mast, main-mast, and main-top-mast much shattered. We lost in action 6 men, and had 28 wounded ; the enemy had 240 men slain, and 110 wounded."

M. Lambert was the commander of *Le Courageux*, and at six o'clock bore down on his enemy. The English captain then addressed his men in a short speech, and explained his plan to them : "I have been bred a seaman from my youth, and consequently am no orator ; but I promise to carry you all near enough, and then you may speak for yourselves. Nevertheless, I think it necessary to acquaint you with the plan I propose to pursue in taking this ship, that you may be the better prepared to execute my orders with quickness and facility. French men-of-war have been taken with their guns lashed on the opposite side. They know little of this business ; put them to management, and they run into confusion ; for this reason I propose to lead you close on the enemy's larboard quarter, when we will discharge two broadsides, and then back astern, and range upon the other quarter, and so tell your guns as you pass. I recommend it at all times to point chiefly at the quarters, with your guns slanting fore and

aft, this is the principal part of a ship. If you kill the officers, break the rudder, and snap the braces, she is yours, of course ; but for this reason I desire you may only fire one round shot and grape above, and two round shot only below ; take care and send them home with exactness. This is a rich ship ; they will render you in return their weight in gold."

Having made this manly harangue, he proceeded to carry out his plan, receiving two broadsides before returning a shot. Then, carrying out his manoeuvre of backing astern, her middle mast fell over the stern with a number of men, who were in the tops, and clambered back into their ship, only bruised. The astonished enemy knew not what to make of such an enemy. Taken in all directions, beat and buffeted on every quarter, the captain killed, her mast gone, the main-mast falling, her tiller rope cut, her quarters laid open, 240 of her crew killed, 138 wounded, courage submitted to superior power, and the mast fell with the flag.

The *Bellona* only lost five men and twenty wounded. The captain threw off his coat in the action, though so doing made him a conspicuous mark for the enemy. When he got home a young lady was captivated by his heroism and married him. After some years this brave officer, wishing to have a more quiet life, asked for a royal yacht in this modest strain :

" He is first to observe, that his grandfather was a captain in the Royal Navy, that he commanded the *Oxford* in Queen Anne's war, where he had the calf of his leg shot away in an engagement. Your memorialist's father was captain of the *Victory*, and perished with that ship among the many ; besides several uncles and brothers that were captains or lieutenants, who were either killed or ended their days in the King's service.

"That your memorialist has been thirty and one years in the Royal Navy—twenty and five years of which a commissioned officer, and almost ten years a post captain. Your memorialist was at the siege of Carthagena ; and was one of those three hundred volunteers that served on board the *Galicia* when she was sent to batter the ramparts of the city, where he was so severely wounded in the ankle by a grape-shot, as to go upon crutches for six months, the effects of which he feels to this day. That your memorialist commanded His Majesty's ship the *Bellona* in the last war, when he had the good fortune to engage and take *Le Courageux*, a ship of equal force.

"These circumstances induce your memorialist to request your lordship to give him the command of a yacht, when one shall become vacant.

"Your memorialist begs leave to refer his general character, as an officer, to any of the admirals in the service your lordship shall think proper to inquire of."

It was the general custom in those days to assume that every man did no more than he ought to do, and had no claim to reward. His request it was found not convenient to gratify. He died in 1769. His son Robert was, of course, put into the navy, where from his midshipman days upwards he saw nothing but fighting, obtaining the command of the *Zebra*, a sloop of only sixteen guns. Forming part of an expedition to the West Indies to attack Port Royal, in the island of Martinique, his vessel and the *Asia* were ordered into the harbour to attack the forts. Sir John Jarvis, the admiral, describes what follows : "This combination succeeded in every part, except the entrance of the *Asia*, which failed for the want of precision in the lieutenant of the port, Monsieur de Tourelles, who had

undertaken to pilot the *Asia*. Captain Faulkner, observing that ship baffled in her attempts, and the *Zebra* having been under a shower of grape-shot for a great length of time (which he, his officers, and sloop's company, stood with a firmness not to be described), he determined to undertake the service alone ; and he executed it with matchless intrepidity and conduct, running the *Zebra* close to the wall of the fort, and leaping overboard, at the head of his sloop's company, assailed and took this important post before the boats could get on shore, although they rowed with all the force and animation which characterise English seamen in the face of an enemy. No language of mine can express the merit of Captain Faulkner upon this occasion ; but as every officer and man in the army and squadron bears testimony to it, the incomparable action cannot fail of being recorded in the page of history. The Grenadiers and Light Infantry made good use of their field-pieces and muskets ; and soon after the surrender of the fort took place."

Captain Faulkner had to be the pilot of his own vessel, owing to a curious circumstance.

When the action was commencing, observing a visible confusion in the countenance of the pilot of the *Zebra*, when he received orders to place the sloop close under the walls of Fort Royal, Captain Faulkner said to one of the officers : "I think Mr. —— seems confused, as if he did not know what he was about. Was he ever in action before ?" "Many times, sir ; he has been twenty-four years in the service." Captain Faulkner, however, being more convinced that his suspicion was well founded, went up to the pilot, and asked him some trifling question, to ascertain the real state of the case, when his agitation was such as entirely

to render him incapable of giving any answer. But he added in a low voice, and without raising his eyes to his noble commander's face—"I see your honour knows me. I am unfit to guide her. I don't know what is come over me. I dreamt last night I should be killed, and am so afraid I don't know what I am about. I never, in all my life, felt afraid before."

In a letter to his mother, beginning "Honoured Madam," he describes his escapes; how he had "a cartouche box, which is made of thick wood, buckled round my body, with pistol cartridges in it, for the pistol I carried by my side. As the *Zebra* came close to the fort, a grape-shot struck, or rather grazed my right-hand knuckle, and shattered the cartouche in the centre of my body; had it not miraculously been there, I must have been killed on the spot. Thanks to Almighty God for his kind preservation of me in the day of battle !

"POSTSCRIPT.—The Admiral has appointed me to the *Rose*, paying me such compliments, that it is impossible for me to relate them. The sword and colours of Fort Royal were delivered to me by the Governor of the Fort; and I take some credit to myself that, after the *Zebra* had stood a heavy fire, and when we had the power to retaliate—for we were mounted upon the walls—I would not allow a man to be hurt, on their being panic-struck, and calling for mercy."

At last, in 1795, this brave officer's career was to come to a close in a sad but fitting style. Near Fort Fleur de l'Épée, he found himself in the *Blanche*, with thirty-two guns, watching a French frigate, the *La Pique*, of thirty-eight and a number of swivels, and 360 men. This French frigate kept cautiously under

shelter of the fort, but at last was tempted out. After some distant firing, they came to close quarters :

"At one A.M. put our helm a-starboard, and ran across her stern, and lashed her bowsprit to our capstan ; kept firing our quarter-deck guns, and other guns that would bear into her, and musketry ; which she returned from her tops, and from her quarter-deck guns, run in amidship fore and aft. At this time our main and mizen-masts went overboard, and they wanted to board us, but were repulsed."

The vessels were then getting separated, and the brave Faulkner was actually lashing the bowsprits of the two vessels together with his own hands, when he was shot through the heart, from the bowsprit of the other vessel. Nothing daunted, his crew continued the fight. One of the survivors describes it :

"We continued keeping a constant fire of musketry into her. Finding the carpenters could not make the ports large enough, we blew out as much of the upper transom beam as would admit the two aftermost guns on the main-deck to be run out, and fired into her bows. At two A.M. all her masts were shot away. In this situation we towed her before the wind, engaging till a quarter past five, when she called out 'That *she had struck!*' The second lieutenant and ten men then swam on board, and took possession of *La Pique*. They had 76 killed, 110 wounded, and 30 lost, with the masts. Our loss, including our gallant Captain Faulkner, was 8 killed, and 21 wounded. They came out on purpose to fight us."

Men of this sort were not to be trifled with, or to be denied.

It may be imagined that this story seized hold of the public mind. A play was performed called the

“Death of Captain Faulkner,” pictures were painted of the scene, and in the House of Commons it was warmly pressed that a monument should be erected to him at the public expense. This was opposed in cold official style by the Government—it was against rule, there was no precedent. Mr. Fox vehemently urged it, and the Government was beaten, and a monument was set up in St. Paul’s.

What more dazzling achievement could be conceived, as well for the almost supernatural daring as for the sagacity that directed its operation, than the “cutting out” of French vessels! In this sort of enterprises, especially English, Lord Cochrane signalised himself; but not one of these brilliant actions approached to the little-known “cutting out” of the *Chevrette*, one of the most dramatic of sea battles. There is something almost that belongs to comedy in the astonishment of the Frenchmen, who, in the midst of the fighting, found their vessel moving away, with all sails set, into the hands of the enemy.

“In the month of July, 1801, a squadron of British frigates, employed in watching the enemy’s fleet, lay at anchor close in with the harbour of Brest, far above St. Matthew’s Lighthouse. The combined fleets of France and Spain were full in their view; still nearer, and quite open to them, was the Bay of Cameret, where the French national corvette *La Chevrette* lay protected by the batteries. In this situation, she was considered by the French as no less secure than if she had been in the roads of Brest; while the effect which this seeming impregnable position had upon the British squadron, was to inspire a wish to cut her out. It was resolved by the commander of the squadron that this attempt should be made. Accordingly the boats of the *Doris*

and *Beaulieu*, manned entirely by volunteers, under the orders of Lieutenant Losack, who had been sent from the admiral's ship to conduct the enterprise, set out on the night of Monday, the 20th of July, to attempt bringing out the corvette. But a separation of the boats having taken place, no attempt was made that night. Some of the boats having reached the entrance of the bay, lay there on their oars till dawn of day, in expectation of being joined by the rest; and before they got back to the frigates, were unfortunately seen both from the corvette and from the shore.

"The enemy now concluded, what they had never before imagined, that an attack was meditated. Though they had judged it a measure of extreme rashness, they were resolved to omit no possible preparation. In the morning of the 21st they got the corvette under way, moved her a mile and a half up the bay, and moored her under the batteries. They put on board of her troops from the shore, so that her number of men now amounted nearly to 400. The arms and ammunition were brought upon deck, and the great guns were loaded to the muzzle with grape-shot. The batteries were prepared; temporary redoubts were thrown up upon the points; and a gun-vessel, with a couple of thirty-two-pounders, was moored at the entrance of the bay as a guard boat. Having taken these precautions, they in the afternoon displayed a large French ensign above an English one, as a signal of defiance.

"All these manœuvres were well observed from the *Beaulieu*, the crew of which ship had showed extraordinary ardour to engage in this enterprise. Though they now saw that a most desperate resistance was certain, the severe disappointment which they experienced from the fruitless expedition of the former night, filled them

with eagerness to make an effectual attempt. Mr. Maxwell, the first lieutenant, who had not been out on the night before, and who was ordered on an expedition then in agitation of carrying fireships into Brest, gladly embraced this opportunity of practising his boat's crew selected on this occasion, preparatory to the grand object, and resolved to head his own shipmates in the attack to be made that night. This officer, warned by the former failure, resolved to keep his own boats in close order ; and should a separation of the other boats happen as before, through any unfortunate accident, to proceed to the attack with the *Beaulieu's* boats alone. This resolution, so congenial to their wishes, his shipmates heard with much satisfaction, and employed themselves through the day in putting the arms in the best order, particularly in grinding the cutlasses to cut the boarding nettings, and other impediments which they expected to meet with.

"It was now about half-past twelve. The moon was sinking beneath the horizon. The wind, which for the first part of the night blew right into the bay, had been dying away, and it was now a perfect calm. The night was too far advanced to admit of any longer delay ; and had the attempt been deferred till next night, it must have been made to great disadvantage, on account of the increasing moon, now in the eleventh day of her age. However, Mr. Losack, and the boats which accompanied him, were still absent. These circumstances were adverted to by Mr. Maxwell, who was now the senior officer. He saw that there remained but one way of preventing a total failure of the enterprise ; and that was, to assume the command himself, and immediately to proceed to the attack with the boats present.

"About this time, by extraordinary good fortune, a

gentle breeze sprung up from the south, right out of the bay. This breeze, so auspicious to the success of the enterprise, animated the men to enthusiasm. To Mr. Maxwell it dictated a manœuvre singular and daring. He gave orders that immediately upon boarding, while the rest were engaged in endeavouring to disarm the enemy's crew on deck, the smartest topmen of the *Beaulieu*, whose qualifications he well knew, should fight their way aloft, and cut the sails loose with their cutlasses. He also appointed the most trusty hands to cut the cable, one of the best men in the boats for the helm, and hands for the rudder-chains, in case of the tiller-ropes being cut. Having made this arrangement for setting the ship adrift instantly upon boarding, and thus taking advantage of the favourable breeze, he gave orders for the charge.

"The sky being clear, though the moon was set, they soon came in sight of the corvette, and were as soon seen from her. The instant she haled, at the distance of four or five cables, she opened a heavy fire of musketry from every part of the ship, accompanied by showers of grape-shot from the great guns. A heavy fire of musketry at the same time commenced from the shore and batteries; in the face of which, the *Beaulieu*'s boats, in the most gallant and intrepid manner, rushed on to the attack, most nobly assisted by those of the *Uranie*, commanded by Lieutenant Neville, who stood up in his boat, cheering and animating his men with the most undaunted bravery, while the bullets were flying about their heads like hail, and many were dropping down, killed or wounded, before they came alongside. When they reached the vessel, the *Beaulieu*'s boats boarded on the starboard bow and quarter; the *Uranie*'s, one of the *Robust*'s, and one of the *Doris*'s on

the larboard bow. The attempt to board was most obstinately opposed by the French, armed at all points with fire-arms, sabres, tomahawks, and pikes, who in their turn even boarded the boats.

"Notwithstanding this obstinate resistance, in the course of which the assailants lost all their fire-arms, and had nothing remaining but their swords, the boarding was effected. The men who had been ordered for that service proceeded to fight their way aloft. In this attempt several of them were killed, and others desperately wounded; but the rest persevered with unparalleled courage. Many of them, bleeding of their wounds, got upon the yards, upon which they were obliged to scramble out with their cutlasses, upon their hands and knees, the foot-ropes having been all strapped up; and, surmounting every obstacle, they executed, with inconceivable expedition, the arduous service in which they were engaged. In less than three minutes after the boats came alongside, in the very heat of the conflict, when almost half of the British sailors were killed or wounded, and the enemy were three to one against them, down came the three top-sails and courses, the ship at the same time casting, the cable being cut outside.

"The prompt execution of these operations proved decisive. The moment the French saw the sails fall, and found themselves, as if by a miracle, under way and drifting out, they were seized with astonishment and consternation. Some of them jumped overboard, others threw down their arms and tumbled down the hatchways. The British sailors now soon got possession of the quarter-deck and forecastle, which in five minutes after boarding were nearly covered with dead bodies. The rest of the enemy, having retreated below, kept

up a heavy fire of musketry from the main-deck and up the hatchways. They also frequently set off large trains of powder, endeavouring to blow up the quarter-deck, and throw the British into confusion. This obliged the British to divide into two parties. One party guarded the hatchways and gangways, and returned the fire of the enemy with their own arms and ammunition. The other party made sail; in order to clear the decks for which it was necessary for them to throw overboard two or three dozen of the Frenchmen who had fallen in the conflict, among whom were some of their own gallant companions.

"The engagement had now lasted upwards of two hours, though during this time the enemy had kept up a constant fire from the main-deck and from the shore, yet the British seamen managed to set every sail in the ship, and had even got top-gallant-yards across. The ship being now quite clear of the batteries, and our men having twice threatened that they would give the enemy no quarter if they continued their fire from below, they at last surrendered themselves prisoners of war."

## CHAPTER IV.

THE glorious naval war which was carried on for so many years could not but have some marked effect on the manners and social habits of the times. As it is proposed in these volumes to give a view of society, and the fashion in which it was directed by these exceptional influences, further on we shall consider more at length the character of English society at the beginning of the reign of William IV.; but in this place it may be readily conceived what an effect on the home and family a long sustained naval war would exercise.

In looking back to the characteristics of English society, from the beginning of George III.'s reign to the close of the great war in 1815, there were certain elements of a marked characteristic which deserve to be noted. This study, or at least observation of the characteristics of society is always interesting, and it would not be difficult to sum up pretty accurately the various "notes" of the old English society towards the close of the last century. These were: the *grand tour*—that is, travelling as a means of learning the science of the world. Travel, being then difficult, called out all the resources of the character, independence, facing of difficulties, patient resting on one's own resources. It

was slow and tedious, and more was therefore seen and noted. Languages were learnt, as English was then little known upon the Continent. It may be conceived how a couple of years' travelling on this system must have opened the character. Next came the valuable system of introduction to foreign Courts. A young man of good birth or connections invariably brought letters to the different kings and Courts. He made acquaintance with all the leading statesmen and wits. These experiences were often embodied in pleasing volumes of travels or long graphic letters, which can be read with pleasure. Another singular feature was the reception of English into French society, both before and after the Revolution ; and readers of Selwyn's and other "Memoirs" will be surprised to see how constantly Lord March, Selwyn, Mr. Bolingbroke, Walpole, and other men of wit and position, were hurrying to Paris for the season. There they bought their velvet suits from Le Duc, the eminent tailor, just as Frenchmen come to London for their suits now. Even down to the earlier years of Charles X.'s reign, literally thousands of fashionable English would go over to Paris for the season. The expense and slowness of the post led to the greater care in the composition of a letter. It was probable that, in the dearth of news, the newly-arrived letter would be shown to friends and neighbours ; hence the inducement to write one's best, and hence the long and really entertaining letters we find sent home by young men to their families from abroad, filled with lively gossip and shrewd traits of observation. These have been preserved in the Bath Archives, Malmesbury Diaries, and other collections. Nor should we pass over the settlement in foreign countries either of free choice or enforced. To the former class belonged

the health resort of Montpellier, to which invalids repaired as to Nice or Cannes, and whose reputation, now completely faded out, still lives in the innumerable "Montpellier Terraces" and "Hills" in Brighton, Twickenham, and indeed every sheltered watering-place. Mr. Sterne's wife and family, and he himself for a time, lived there. Of the latter class were the curious colony of debtors at Calais, of which a lugubrious but not uninteresting account might be given; and the still more curious society at Verdun formed by the compulsory detention of innumerable English subjects of all degrees, and for many years. The French Revolution, too, brought to English society a strange admixture, owing to a sad cause—the horde of *émigrés*. Flying for their lives, destitute, of the highest rank in their own country, young and very old, priests and laymen, venerable duchesses and beautiful girls, these unhappy persons had either to live on a pittance extended to them by the charitable, or to earn a miserable crust by "giving lessons" or doing menial work. A more piteous spectacle could not be conceived. All these contrasted elements, for a period of fifty years, were interwoven into the texture of English society, and lent it a varied character and spirit which it certainly does not now possess. I propose now to go more into detail as to characteristics of one class of these exiles, namely, those detained abroad by the cruel fate of war.

Besides the large class of English who at the beginning of the century were residing abroad for pleasure or economy, there was yet another more unfortunate category, who, under compulsion, were for many years forced to abandon all hope of setting foot in their own country. This presents quite a new phase

of English society and English manners, and gave an additional air of adventure to the complexion of the times. There was hardly a family of note without some unhappy relative, connection, or friend thus cruelly detained in a hostile country, and the habits and character thus engendered were, it may be conceived, of an exceptional kind and rather un-English. No such incident as this seizure and imprisonment of a number of inoffensive persons, who had committed no crime beyond being away from their own country, is on record; and this alone would stamp Napoleon as having a barbarous and even savage nature. The history of the *délénus*, and the special and ingeniously diabolical form of their sufferings, would fill volumes; but a sketch of the whole will not be found out of place here, and it forms a painfully interesting chapter.

When Lord Whitworth finally quitted Paris in May, 1803, the English, on the 18th of that month, declared war against France, and, according to their custom, seized all vessels found in their ports on the instant of the declaration. This, it must be said, seems a harsh measure, and if the seizure applied to the crews might warrant some sort of reprisal or remonstrance. But the behaviour of the English Government was generous. They who could not find any persons of respectability to answer for their good behaviour were obliged to quit the kingdom, and for those who were unable to defray the expenses of the journey and voyage a vessel was prepared at the Government's expense, and five guineas given to each person for his present necessities. As it was, the numerous English in France, some days before the declaration, were hurrying from France, exciting the ridicule and remonstrance of the French. But scarcely had Lord

Whitworth left Paris, when the telegraphs or semaphores were set to work, an instrument which then worked with surprising results and rapidity, and in a single night every English person found between Brussels and Montpellier, Geneva and Bordeaux, was seized. Some were called out of the theatre, others stopped at Calais when going on board. The number of persons detained amounted to over five hundred, including all ranks, from noblemen to poor English workmen who were employed in France.

At first three dépôts were formed. The English at Paris, Rouen, etc., were sent to Fontainebleau, those in the south to Nismes, while those at Brussels, Boulogne, etc., were gathered at Valenciennes. Nothing could exceed the harshness and insolence of the generals and other officers before whom the English were summoned like criminals, and which seems to show that the French have no sense of returning the moderation shown by Englishmen when put in situations of power, and which, indeed, the latter feel is only due to their own sense of self-respect. At Valenciennes, where they were kept some time, Lord Barrington was regarded as the chief of the party, and through his tact and influence contrived many alleviations of their position.

But soon orders came that all the prisoners were to be united at a single dépôt, namely, Verdun; and now began the systematised plunder of the "detained," many of whom had money. They were ordered to find their way there separately. Those who chose to pay might go in their own chaise, attended by a gendarme whom they were to support, and to whom they were to pay five francs. If, as some did, they declined to submit to this imposition, they were sent like malefactors from town to town, and thrust for the night into the common

jails. Some who were poor and with families suffered terrible hardships, going in carts ; and the arrival of such a number of strangers—nearly four hundred, of which it was calculated about one hundred were wealthy and flourishing—was of enormous benefit to this town. Lodgings, food, raiment, everything doubled in price. The streets, which boasted only a few mean shops, were now filled with windows full of jewellery and costly articles. Every facility was given for running into debt, discounting bills on England, etc. The commander of the dépôt was a General Wirion, who had risen and who attained notoriety by his system of despotism, cruelty, and pillage. This fellow, who had begun by being an attorney's clerk, was subject to strange bursts of fury and excitement. He surrounded himself with spies, and brought preying on the “detained” and enriching himself into a system. Everyone had to appear to the *appel* and sign his name within twenty-four hours ; failure entailed fines. There were payments for exemption and privileges, and it was calculated that for a time he received fifty pounds a month.

It must be said, however, that the behaviour of the English under these restraints was almost an excuse for any treatment. It was of the most reckless, extravagant and debauched kind that could be conceived, and showed a total lack of dignity and self-respect. Pleasure and caprice seemed their sole aim, and this was sought with much obsequious fawning and familiarity towards their jailers, who were thus, as it were, invited to treat them with contempt and receive what was so eagerly offered.

When it is considered what an extraordinary miscellany was here collected, and the despair produced by the sense left of there being no chance of release,

there is something surprising. "Here," says the biographer of Captain Brenton, "all the English *détenu*s were assembled, forming perhaps one of the most extraordinary groups of character that had ever been collected in the same spot. There were many highly respectable and exemplary persons, some of whom had been travelling in France for their pleasure, some for the purpose of educating their children, and some for economy. There were others whose sole object was curiosity or dissipation. There were many skilful artificers who had brought their talent to a French market, and were engaged in setting up manufactures that might rival or surpass their own country. There were many who, from seditious conduct, had found it necessary to take shelter in France. There were fraudulent bankrupts and broken tradesmen. There were many who had fled from their creditors, and even some who had fled from the gallows. With this motley assemblage the prisoners of war were involved, enveloped in one measure, subject to the same proscription and the same parole. The amalgamation was not very favourable to the latter, particularly to the younger branches of the service."

These persons transferred the fashionable vices of London to Verdun. They established clubs, and, above all, a gaming-house, where the unhappy prisoners learned every vice. Wirion was said to have been a shareholder. Young midshipmen even frequented these hells, and were ruined for life. Money-lenders and pawnbrokers flourished. With this there were extravagant entertainments, dances, fêtes, fancy balls, and theatricals; for the privilege of giving which entertainments large sums had to be paid.

It is pitiable to read of the adulation paid to

the General, who was always accessible to bribes, presents, and flatteries. He was manageable if he was approached in the proper way, and was fond of repeating with many flourishes : “*Homo sum et,*” etc. The *détenus* laughed, joked at their own misfortunes, made satirical verses on each other, fought duels, quarrelled with the gendarmes, and certainly tried their patience. Many, too, made their escape, some violating their parole, which of course entailed greater severity on those left behind. Those who were rich and of high station, set a bad example, and exhibited all the scandals of the time, purchasing toleration for their vices. There was a fortress, well known as Bitche (and celebrated in Douglas Jerrold’s “Prisoner of War”), where anyone who violated the rules was sent for confinement, and whence release or alleviation of hardship was only to be secured by payment. The incidents have an air of farce. The *parvenu* General now affecting the airs of state, now mollified by *douceurs*, is now in a fury because some of the prisoners’ ladies had not called on Madame Wirion. The great fêtes and masquerades given by the Irish and Welsh in honour of their patron saints, the ball to which Madame Wirion had not been asked, and which was broken up by the gendarmes under threats of “Bitche.”

Among the persons of position assembled here were Sir T. Wallace, the Right Hon. Mr. Tufton of Lord Thanet’s family, Hon. Mr. Blaquiere, Sir John Morshead, Colonel Wallop, Sir W. Sheridan, Sir S. May, M.P., Lord Boyle, Colonel Milner of the Guards, Sir Beaumont Dixie, Hon. Mr. Dormer, and others. Besides these there were scattered about France dukes and duchesses (as of Newcastle), Lord Yarmouth, and many more. Most of these distinguished persons, however, obtained per-

mission to live in villas in the country under due supervision. The characteristic part was the alternation of brutal severities with lavish indulgences, persons who had enjoyed favourable treatment being of a sudden dragged off and thrust into a dungeon, or being beaten by the gendarmes and dragged with ropes round their necks at the tails of the horses, all which is significant of the "grande nation" which in those days at Court exhibited their tiger and monkey nature. In contrast to which may be offered the behaviour of a noble sailor, the brave Captain Brenton, who showed in his captivity a truer heroism and bravery than he had ever displayed in his many battles. His vessel, the *Minerve*, as was in so many cases a captured French one used against its late owners, ran aground off Cherbourg in a fog, and after a desperate engagement had to surrender.\* The English in such cases regarded their prisoners as victims of fatality and generously released them; not so the "great nation," who marched them to jail.

Nothing could be more devoted or unwearied than this gallant man. He constituted himself the guardian and representative of all there, looked after the young, formed schools, reformed the old, and won the respect of all, so that any representations of his came to be

\* A British sailor who had both his legs shot off while the *Minerve* lay under the fire of the batteries was carried to the cockpit. Waiting for his turn to be dressed, he heard the cheers of the crew on deck, and eagerly demanded what they meant. Being told the ship was off the shoal, and would soon be clear of the forts, "Then, d—n the legs!" exclaimed the poor fellow, and taking his knife from his pocket he cut the remaining muscles which attached them to him and joined in the cheers with the rest of his comrades. When the ship was taken he was placed in the boat to be conveyed to the hospital; but, determined not to outlive the loss of his liberty, he slackened his tourniquets, and bled to death.

considered with respect and attention by the authorities, who were eager to gratify him when they could. He succeeded in checking the dreadful excesses of gambling and in having it put down by the authorities. He was allowed even to make tours of inspection from dépôt to dépôt. It is impossible to give too much praise to the earnest efforts of this gallant man. He also introduced a sort of missionary, a Rev. Mr. Wolfe, who thus describes the condition of the prisoners at Givet:

"I found the dépôt in the most deplorable state. In a moral point of view, it would be difficult to conceive anything more degraded and miserable. As regards religion, every appearance of it was confined to some twenty Methodists, who were the objects of the most painful persecution, and often the innocent cause of the most dreadful blasphemies. The bodily privations of the prisoners were equally distressing. In the hospital, the sick were mixed with prisoners of other nations, and were in a shocking state of neglect, and covered with vermin. Not a single prisoner was allowed to go out into the town, and even the interpreter was accompanied by a gendarme. It was almost impossible for any of them to get anything from their friends, for there was no one to receive it for them; and the little that did come was subjected to a deduction of five per cent. by the maréchal des logis. And so great was their distress at that moment, that, unable to satisfy the cravings of hunger, they were seen to pick up the potato-peelings that were thrown out into the court and devour them."

One of Bonaparte's most cruel schemes of vengeance was to force the prisoners, by various hardships and acts of oppression, to enter his service. At other times "every artifice of seduction was employed, and in this

latter department the tyrant found ready instruments among certain renegades of the Wolfe Tone persuasion. Adroit, plausible Irishmen, in gaudy uniforms, and with the decoration of the Legion of Honour, beset the prisoners with every flattery, scattered money freely among them, and invited them to follow their example, and hope for promotion and rewards like their own. They had considerable success among the Irish sailors, not a few of whom enlisted for the flotillas at Boulogne and elsewhere ; but more, it seems, became substitutes for army conscripts of the easier classes of society, and were soon drilled and equipped."—(*Quarterly Review*, 1846, p. 296.) Captain Brenton found, one day at Verdun, an English sailor *en route* for Givet—an old coxswain of Collingwood's, whose eyes had been scorched in battle, and had since dropped out of his head. He forwarded to Paris a petition for his release. The answer was : "On n'accorde pas la pétition de Monsieur Brenton. Que son aveugle file avec les autres."

The allowance to the prisoners of low condition was about three halfpence a day ; the officers of rank, generals, etc., about seven pounds a month. But from this pittance were all kinds of deductions for the benefit of the grotesque Wirion and his subordinates. Even false charges were trumped up against the *détenu*s, though it seems likely enough from their reckless behaviour that these may have been well founded. But in either case, money could always purchase immunity. This extraordinary being was always to be gained by flatteries and attentions.

Indeed this prototype of "General Boum" furnished amusement to the reckless and obsequious, who were constantly ridiculing him and his lady, whom they nicknamed Madame Angot. They allowed him to

win money of them in gaming, and when he had been particularly fortunate, he was willing to grant privileges to the losers. Having to attend Bonaparte's coronation, the General borrowed a rich Englishman's carriage and took it to Paris.

But at last when the Minister of War, who had been his friend, was removed, and another, the Duke of Feltre, appointed in his room, this oppressor was deposed and summoned to Paris to answer charges. Sooner than face the trial, he went into the Bois de Boulogne and blew his brains out.

Some of the entertainments given so recklessly by the English were truly remarkable. In February, 1807, a masquerade was "offered," at the expense of four gentlemen, two of whom were prisoners of war, the others *détenu*s. None of Lord Barrymore's fêtes at Wargrave could have surpassed it in *éclat*. One of the largest hotels was decorated to the very foot of the staircase with festoons of flowers, devices, illuminations, etc. The supper was sumptuous, and everything regardless of cost. "One mask was inimitable as a negro; another made a most capital tailor. Some changed their costume, and appeared successively in different characters. All the English ladies, and the principal French families were invited. The supper was sumptuous, the tables laid out in different rooms; and the company remained for a regular breakfast. The whole passed with the greatest gaiety."

This, however, was completely eclipsed by the entertainment given by the Irish on the festival of their patron. Mr. Watson, who was president, had a vice-president and four stewards under him. About eighty persons sat down to dinner at a louis each. The dancing saloon of one of the coffee-houses was

entirely filled with an immense table in the form of a double L, at the head of which sat the president, under a green canopy, decorated with the Irish harp and motto, *Erin go Bragh*, "elegantly painted by Mr. Halpin." The invitation had been printed on green cards, with the same motto and device. It would be needless to say that no expense was spared either in the kitchen or cellar. A quantity of claret arrived from Bordeaux, at a price enormous in France, seven livres and a half the bottle. An Irishman, who on his way to India had been taken by the French and sent to Verdun, was a perfect master of the Irish bagpipes. A number of songs were sung. The following was written for the occasion :

Like ourselves the good Patrick in France was detain'd,  
But like a true Christian he never complain'd,  
For the son of the Church, by permission divine,  
Was a pris'ner at Bordeaux, the country for wine.

It was not surprising that such inappropriate waste and extravagance should be followed by debts and difficulties. Usurers infested the town, and though for a year or two the *détenu's* were privileged, pressure was brought to bear on the Government, and leave at last given to use the process of law, which was added to other modes of extracting money. It must be said, reviewing the whole proceedings, that the English themselves brought much of the treatment they so bitterly complained of, on themselves.

Among the most exciting incidents were constant successful attempts at escape. Here, again, we find frequent violations of parole. Ninety-six persons were said to have got away during the two years succeeding Wirion's recall. At last Bonaparte issued a decree-condemning to death or the galleys any who violated their

parole. The one that made the most noise was that of the Chevalier Lawrence, who contrived to get away by purchasing a passport.

At last, in December, 1814, news arrived that the Allies had passed the Rhine, and the long-suffering *détenu*s received the welcome order that they were to quit the dépôt. This notice was so short that it led to much hardship and confusion ; for it had now become a regular colony, having grown during eleven years, consisting of 100 married men, 1100 prisoners of all ranks, 200 of whom, from age and infirmities, could not go on foot, besides 500 children. These had all to break up their homes and depart within three days. A worthy, humane soldier, Latreille, who had won the esteem of the English, had to superintend this painful operation. He says : “The principal and most serious difficulty was to procure money ; for being now on the theatre of war, all the military chests were nearly emptied, and the persons who had hitherto provided themselves with funds from their Verdun bankers could not draw largely on them at such a moment. By good fortune, on reaching Troyes, I obtained about £300 from a paymaster, which I advanced to the prisoners as their wants required, without receipt, or keeping any account whatever. It is a trait very honourable to the gentlemen, that although I took this measure entirely upon myself, everyone afterwards repaid me what I had lent.”

By April, 1815, however, passports were given to all the English to go whither they pleased ; and thus ended this unique and discreditable episode in the history of warfare.\*

\* In 1814 there were nearly 20,000 prisoners in England, whose repatriation, to use a lately devised and pedantic French term, was attended with serious difficulties.

As a pendant to these strange saturnalia, we may turn to what offers a more unhappy contrast—the case of the French prisoners who at this time, and indeed all through the war, filled the English prisons in large and embarrassing numbers. It suggests the case of the Prussian Government in the last war.

The difficulties of dealing with such a body of men, violent and excitable, of finding places sufficiently large to serve as prisons, were immense; and these were increased by the characteristic behaviour of the French Government. Finding that the detention of English officers and sailors was of greater advantage to themselves than the release of their own men, who would soon be recaptured, they threw difficulties in the way of exchange and release. They refused to exchange an English captain for a French captain, considering that they were not of the same value; while an Englishman of any reputation was detained for years, though a Frenchman of capability and merit was offered for him.

In the years 1799 and 1800 there were some 20,000 French prisoners in England distributed in various depôts, the principal of which was at Norman Cross, not far from Peterborough, a healthy, airy situation on a hill. Here they were treated with fairness and humanity, in strange contrast to the brutality of Bonaparte and the Consuls, who appeared to imitate the savage mode of making their enemies feel by punishing such of them as had fallen into their hands. The difficulties arising from this cause, as well as the behaviour of the prisoners themselves, made the task of the English Government very difficult. It was found that though well fed and taken care of, many of the French prisoners were in desperate condition, owing to the

following cause reported by the superintendent. Their allowance, he says, was quite sufficient. "There are in these prisons," he observes, "some men, if they deserve that name, who possess money with which they purchase at the daily market whatever is allowed to enter, and with those articles they purchase of some unfortunate and unthinking fellow-prisoner his ration of bread for several days together, and frequently *both bread and beef for a month*, which he, the merchant, seizes upon daily, and sells out again to some other unfortunate being on the same usurious terms, allowing the former one halfpennyworth of potatoes daily to keep him alive. Not contented with this more than savage barbarity, he purchases next his clothes and bedding, and sees the miserable man lie naked on the plank, unless he will consent to allow him one halfpenny a night to lie in his own hammock, and which he makes him pay by a further deprivation of his ration when his original debt is paid."

Disputes arising out of this arose between the Governments: the English appealing to the French to furnish means for taking care of their prisoners, especially in the matter of clothes; the French declaring that they clothed the English prisoners, and that the English were bound to do the same in the case of the French. There is no doubt that the English authorities were responsible for the abuses in their prisons, and there must have been some defect of administration, if they could not check such practices. The dispute ended in the King ordering that the wants of the prisoners should be supplied. Their life was not one of hardship; they followed many ingenious trades, and in old houses are now often seen little ships fashioned out of ivory and bone, and rigged,

which were sold to visitors. Many saved large sums of money. Nor was there a dramatic element wanting in daring and hairbreadth escapes, which have been told in an exciting and picturesque style.

## CHAPTER V.

ON the Prince's return he was to pass for his lieutenancy, and on the 17th of June, 1785, a full board of Admiralty was held, for the examination of His Royal Highness as to his qualifications. The King was said to have ordered that no favour should be shown his son. But Lord Howe,\* who presided in person at the board, told His Majesty afterwards that he had great pleasure in saying, "the Prince was every inch a sailor." His commission, as third lieutenant of the *Hecate* frigate, was then made out, after which he returned to St. James's, where he changed his dress of a midshipman for that of his new rank.

In this vessel he made a voyage round the British Islands, during which he met with a serious accident.

\* "The father of the writer of this work," Mr. Huish tells us, "and Lord Howe were on terms of the greatest intimacy. His lordship being on a visit to my father at Nottingham during the latter part of the time that my mother was pregnant with me, his lordship offered, on the supposition that the offspring was a boy, and that my father would bring me up to the naval service, to place me on the books of the Admiralty *as a midshipman at the very hour of my birth*. His lordship kept his word, and on the day on which I was born, I belonged to His Majesty's navy as a midshipman."

"The other instance is in the army, relative to a Miss Gaff, now

"On the 6th of July, the *Hebe* and the sloop arrived in Bridlington Bay; and the next day the Prince, with Captains Thornborough and Rogers, landed amidst a vast concourse of the inhabitants from all parts of the country. The wind proving unfavourable, the ships lay here at anchor above a week, during which time His Royal Highness made several excursions on shore; one of which, however, had like to have proved of serious consequences. According to the account published at the time, the Prince was thrown from his horse, and received a contusion on the head, with some other bruises. Dr. Johnson, a physician of Beverley, being sent for, took the royal patient home to his own house, where he was bled, and slept that night; but the next morning he was sufficiently recovered to set off."

Mr. Gilpin relates the story more circumstantially in his memoir of Captain Rogers. He says: "Captain Rogers, on being appointed to that station, purchased a little cottage not far from Yarmouth, where the Prince was a frequent guest while off that coast. Here, he one day persuaded Captain Rogers to make a little excursion with him into the country, to see a race. They had neither horses to carry them nor servants to attend them, but hired, as the Prince proposed, two hackney horses at Yarmouth, and went alone. Before they got to the race-ground, the Prince's horse fell. The Prince was thrown off, and received a very violent shock.

Mrs. McGhee, of Kilkenny, in Ireland, whose mother was delivered of her on the field of battle, in America. Lord Cornwallis promised during the time of Mrs. Gaff's pregnancy, that whatever her offspring might be he would make it an ensign. Miss Gaff was born, and was promoted immediately to be the bearer of a pair of colours, receiving her pay as an ensign. On her arrival in England, she was placed at Grove House, Hammersmith, then kept by Mrs. Delamain, and her pay as an ensign defrayed the expenses of her education."

Captain Rogers saw no signs of life in him, and believed he was dead. Greatly distressed, he took the Prince up in his arms, and carried him by main strength to the nearest cottage, where he laid him on such a bed as he could procure. He was bled as soon as any medical assistance could be had, but it was some time before he came to himself. As he lay upon the bed, pale and languid, his flaxen hair discomposed and tumbled about his face, a report spread in the neighbourhood that the Prince was a young lady going off with her lover to Scotland ; which entertained His Royal Highness very much when he recovered. The old woman who inhabited the cottage, on finding her mistake, and knowing the quality of the guest she had received, showed the bed on which the Prince had lain to all the country round, at a penny a head ; and while the novelty lasted she turned it into a comfortable living."

These and other pranks were in the "vein of the fashionable blood" of the day. "When the Duke of Clarence was a very young man," Mr. Rogers tells us, "he was dining at the equerries' table, when he told one of his facetious stories. 'Excellent,' said Major Price, who was present; 'I wish I could believe it.' 'If you say that again, Price, I'll send this claret at your head.' He did say it again, and the claret *came*, and it was returned. I had this," Mr. Rogers adds, "from Lord St. Helens, who was of the party."

Later, our young Prince visited many countries, including Italy and Switzerland, and acquiring a certain knowledge ; but he seems to have always retained the blunt, rough manners of his profession.

In his new ship he was sent off to visit the Scotch Coast, the Orkneys, Falmouth, and other places. In April, 1786, he was made a captain. He was then

appointed to the *Pegasus*, a small vessel carrying twenty-eight guns, and sailed for the West Indies. Anchoring in Antigua on October 8th, he was delighted to meet his friend Nelson, who was now commander of the station. Their rather interesting friendship was to be further strengthened, for we find the hero writing home thus favourably of his royal subordinate officer on December 29th, 1786 :

“ You must have heard, long before this reaches you, that Prince William is under my command. I shall endeavour to take care that he is not a loser by that circumstance. He has his foibles, as well as private men ; but they are far overbalanced by his virtues. In his professional line he is superior to nearly two-thirds, I am sure, of the list ; and in attention to orders, and respect to his superior officer, I hardly know his equal. This is what I have found him.”

In another letter written from Montserrat, on the 14th February, 1787, Nelson says :

“ I am here with the *Pegasus* and *Solebay*. The island has made fine addresses and good dinners. To-morrow we sail for Nevis and St. Christopher’s. His Royal Highness keeps up strict discipline in his ship, and, without paying him any compliment, she is one of the finest-ordered frigates I have seen. He has had more plague with his officers than enough. His first lieutenant will, I have no doubt, be broke. I have sent him under arrest, he having written for a court-martial on himself, to vindicate his conduct, because his captain thought proper to reprimand him in the order-book. In short, our service has been so relaxed during the war, that it will cost many a court-martial to bring it up again.”

Nelson was at this time on the eve of his marriage; and, in a letter to his future bride, writes :

" What is it to attend on princes ? Let me attend on you, and I am satisfied. Some are born for attendants on great men ; I rather think that is not my particular province. His Royal Highness often tells me, he believes I am married, for he never saw a lover so easy, or say so little of the object he has a regard for. When I tell him I certainly am not, he says, ' Then he is sure I must have a great esteem for you, and that it is not what is vulgarly called love.' "

The marriage of Nelson and Mrs. Nisbet, who was the widow of a physician at Nevis, took place in that island, March 11th, 1787. The bride was given away by the Duke of Clarence.

Nelson, writing to Captain Locker, ten days afterwards, off Tortola, says :

" My time since November has been entirely taken up in attending the Prince on his tour round these islands. However, except Granada, this is the last ; when I shall repair to English Harbour, and fit the *Boreas* for a voyage to England. Happy shall I be when that time arrives. No man has had more illness or trouble on a station than I have experienced ; but let me lay a balance on the other side—I am married to an amiable woman. That far makes amends for everything. Indeed, until I married her, I never knew happiness, and I am morally certain she will continue to make me a happy man for the rest of my days. Prince William did me the honour to stand her father upon the occasion, and has shown me every act of kindness that the most sincere friendship could bestow."

The italicised words have a strange significance, and were true enough in their import, for had she been

permitted to do so, the lady *would* have continued to make the hero a happy man for the rest of his days.

And of Nelson the Prince later wrote :

"It was at this era he first formed his character as a naval officer, and was employed in a manner highly gratifying to his feelings. It was then that I particularly observed the greatness of Nelson's superior mind. The manner in which he enforced the spirit of the Navigation Act, first drew my attention to the commercial interests of my country. We visited the different islands together; and, as much as the manœuvres of fleets can be described off the headlands of islands, we fought over again the principal naval actions in the American war."

Indeed, he attributed all his naval knowledge to Nelson's teachings, and it is something for an English Prince to boast of, that he had been the friend and pupil of the greatest naval hero the world had seen.

For the treatment that Nelson's dying requests received a grateful nation was not accountable, but it proceeded from the action of a too cautious Government. There were peculiar difficulties in the case of Lady Hamilton, but somehow all connected with him seemed to have suffered from the same neglect. His doctor, Magarth, was told : "We admit your claim, but our parliamentary interest requires all our patronage." Pollard, the midshipman who shot the French sailor that killed Nelson, was in 1863 a lieutenant, at the age of seventy-four ! Nelson's chaplain, Scott, who was with him at his death, was driven to the Charterhouse, from which he wrote the following piteous letter :

"DEAR SIR,

"Charterhouse, March 31, 1813.

"It will be doing an act of charity, if you see nothing improper in the enclosed letter, to present

it for me, or send it so as to get it read. I have never liked to trouble you, or I do not believe I should have failed in the manner I have lately done at the Charter-house. A country parson, wholly secluded from the world, is but a weak adversary at an election—more so if he neglects the counsel of those he might have called upon, and who know the *carte du pays*.

“I was once without preparation or the least knowledge of His Royal Highness, suddenly, I may say somewhat clumsily, in the midst of a party; introduced to the Prince. He immediately rose, *grasped my hand, shed tears*—in short, *his feelings were so acute*, that I retreated into the crowd to spare him. I never can forget the pressure of his hand, nor the sensibility he evinced. This was shortly after Lord Nelson’s burial, and ever since I felt awkward at intruding myself upon him, though in fact for the last five years my illness rendered it impossible.

“I am gratefully,

“Your obliged,

“A. SCOTT.”

“P.S.—All the documents of my claim are in Lord M——’s hand, but I do not think it right to trouble him to search for papers, and his word would be sufficient, as to the substance of them, if he leaves it. Observe, every individual *accidental* follower of Lord Nelson has had some favour conferred upon him by the Government; I alone, for whom he spoke and solicited, and to whom he bequeathed a legacy under the title of ‘his friend,’ have hitherto been neglected. What can I say more?”

It is indeed remarkable what a number of testimonies have been given to this spirit of good-nature and friendship in the young prince.

PRINCE WILLIAM TO CAPTAIN CHRISTIAN.

" Halifax, Sept. 30, 1788.

" DEAR SIR,

" Permit me to recommend the bearer of this, Mrs. Dalrymple, to your notice and that of the amiable Mrs. Christian. This lady is returned from America, and proposes spending the winter at Portsmouth, as her husband returns with his regiment next spring to England. You will, my good friend, easily perceive myself interested for this lady when I inform you that her husband, Captain Dalrymple, passes the winter with me at Jamaica. Any kindness or attention shown to her I shall receive as a proof of your attention to me, which I have on so many occasions experienced from you. Let me desire you, to present my best wishes and most respectful compliments to Mrs. Christian. Remember me to my good master, and ever believe me,

" Yours, &c.,

" WILLIAM."

From Antigua a planter wrote home in 1786 :

" Prince William Henry has been here for some time past, repairing his ship ; where all ranks are vying with each other in making grand entertainments for their illustrious visitor. The Prince is quite the officer, never wearing any other dress but his uniform, and his star and garter only when receiving addresses, or on any other public occasion. He has not slept a night out of his ship since his arrival in these seas, until coming into English harbour, when the ship's heaving down obliged

him to be on shore. His Royal Highness shows the most amiable disposition and condescension on every occasion, sees into the detail of the business of his ship, and delivers his own orders with the most minute attention to the duty and discipline of the frigate. In short he promises to be what we all hope and wish, the restorer of the ancient glory of the British navy."

Long after, the Prince used to relate how very much he was impressed with Nelson's powers of command, and how much he owed to his instructions. On taking leave of his friend he was much depressed, particularly as Nelson was to return to England and the Prince was to sail for Jamaica. In a fit of ill-bumour and despondency he set off, without orders, for Halifax, whence he was required to go to Quebec. Not relishing being obliged to stay there all the winter, the young Prince set out for England, again without orders; but when he reached Cork, in December, 1787, he grew nervous, and bethinking him of his friend the Duke of Rutland, whom he believed was viceroy, made up despatches addressed to him. Meanwhile the Duke had died, and a new viceroy had been appointed.

When the news reached London the Admiralty was thrown into commotion, the Lords Commissioners assembled, and His Majesty was called into council. Meanwhile the Prince enjoyed himself. He was waited upon by the Mayor of Cork, with whom he dined at the Mansion House of that city; as he afterwards did with the merchants, at the "King's Arms." He also went to the Asscmbly Room, where it was recorded with pride, "he danced with Miss Kellett, daughter of one of the aldermen; and with Miss Lane, whose father had been town-clerk of Cork." Then he went to Youghal; and there, also, dined with the Corporation. He next

visited, accompanied by the High Sheriff, Sir Richard Musgrave, the Earls of Shannon and Grandison; and lastly, the Marquis of Waterford, at whose seat His Royal Highness received the letter which recalled him to England.

He was then summarily ordered to Plymouth to remain there, his father being much displeased at this violation of discipline and the want of proper subordination. He was forbidden to leave his ship or come up to London, and was required to superintend the refitting, with a view to at once returning to the port he had so improperly quitted. Part of this laudable severity was no doubt owing to vindication of public interest and that of the service; but part was certainly prompted by that harshness with which George III. was then treating all his younger sons. The Prince of Wales and his brother, the Duke of York, with the amiable view of bringing their father's authority into contempt, set off for Plymouth to comfort their naval brother in his disgrace. The two Princes left Carlton House on the 6th of January, 1788; and, on the 8th, reached Devonport. On their arrival, Prince William hastened to meet them; and it was represented, by one who witnessed it, "as an affecting sight, to behold the three royal brothers assembled together, after so long a separation. The next morning the Princes, attended by several naval and military officers, visited the dockyards, &c. In the evening they dined with a select party, and, at eleven o'clock, proceeded to the Long Room, at Stonehouse, where was an assemblage of the principal ladies and gentlemen of Plymouth and the neighbourhood."

When the Princes entered arm-in-arm, the eldest in the centre, they received the compliments of the whole

company, which they returned with affability, ease, and dignity. It was recorded in the local annals that the royal personages, in the course of the evening, danced with Mrs. Depeister, Miss Fanshawe, Miss Wynne, Miss Calton, and Miss Arthur, the reigning beauties of Plymouth. About one in the morning, they retired to rest. On the following day, their Royal Highnesses went afloat; and the whole fleet manned the yards, and saluted with twenty-one guns each. After riding to Maker Heights, the Princes returned to Dock—dined—and in the evening went again to the Long Room, where the night was spent as before.

During these revels the susceptible sailor was said to have been captivated by Miss Wynne, who is mentioned among the number of his partners, and who appears to have been a sort of dockyard belle. However, like so many other *tendres*, it was of a transient character. The next day his brothers returned to town, and the Prince sailed with a squadron for the West. This expedition, which offers little interest, was destined to be his last opportunity of active service, and a stupid policy doomed him for the rest of his life to inaction or some ornamental office at home.

A story is told of his good-nature and charity at Plymouth at this time.

One morning, when the Prince, having received his commission and his ship, was on his way to his tailor's in Plymouth, to get the new uniform, at a street corner he saw a boy crying, and stopped to inquire the cause. The lad looked up through his tears, revealing a handsome, winning, and intelligent face, and replied that his mother had died only a few days before, and that he had been cast homeless into the streets. "Where is your father?" asked the Prince. "He was lost in the

Sussex, on the Cornwall coast, two years ago." "How would you like to go to sea in a first-rate man of war?" The boy's face brightened as he answered that he should like it very well. The Prince took out his pocket-book and wrote something upon a slip of paper, which he gave to the boy with a shilling. "Go down to the docks," he said, "and with this shilling you will hire a boatman to carry you off to the *Pegasus*. When you get on board the ship, you will give this paper to the officer whom you find in charge of the deck, and he will take care of you. Cheer up, my lad! Show me that you have a true heart, and you shall surely find a true friend." Arrived on board the *Pegasus*, the officer of the deck received him kindly, and sent him to sit upon a gun-carriage under the break of the poop. In less than an hour the Prince came off in his new uniform; and the boy was strangely moved upon discovering that the man who had promised to be his friend was none other than William, Duke of Clarence, and captain of the frigate.

The boy, whose name was Albert Doyer, was taken into the cabin, where the Prince questioned him, and forthwith he ordered him to be rated as a midshipman, and from his own purse he procured him an outfit. During the voyage to the American coast the Prince became strongly attached to his youthful *protégé*, keeping him about his person continually, and instructing him in general branches of education, as well as in his profession.

Time passed on, and the boy grew to be a man, serving King and country faithfully. In time William became King, and signed the commission which made Albert Doyer a rear-admiral. He exclaimed, as he put his signature to the document: "There—if I have ever

done a good deed for England, it was when I saved to her service that true and worthy man ! ” \*

The grievous and exciting episode of the King’s illness had taken place during his absence, but on his arrival he found his father happily restored for the present. But the Court was shockingly distracted by family quarrels and political cabals. He arrived early in May, and was received affectionately by his father, who almost immediately created him Duke of Clarence and Earl of Munster. This creation took place on June 8th, 1789. He also received from the nation a liberal “Establishment”—a settlement to which the eyes of the numerous Princes were ever fondly turned. He was now to enjoy £12,000 a year, with his “table, lights and coals,” supplied by the Board of Green Cloth at the palace, for himself and suite. He was also given the Lodge at Richmond Park as a country residence, which was completely furnished and refitted for his use.

Notwithstanding this favourable treatment, we find him almost at once in league with his two brothers to form an organised cabal against their father and his Court, and conspicuously exhibiting their hostility in public places. This was shown with particular ungraciousness on the occasion of a dinner given to his brother by the Prince to celebrate his promotion to the Dukedom of Clarence, and where banners were hung round with inscriptions to the effect that the three royal brothers were “united for ever,” though opposed by all the world. It was noted also that at the fêtes given by the ambassadors to celebrate His Majesty’s recovery, the brothers always sat together apart from the rest of the Royal Family. This system was steadily pursued during the scandals that followed

\* Related lately in a journal called “The Magpie.”

—the Duke of York's duel with Colonel Lennox, the letters to the King complaining of the Queen's behaviour, etc.; while, in incurring enormous debts, we find the three brothers affectionately bracketed together.

When this party feeling had somewhat died away, the old affection of the King revived, and the Duke was made welcome at Court, where, even thus early, his blunt manners and rough quarter-deck bearing caused much amusement and embarrassment. In 1791, Miss Burney, then on the eve of her departure, records a well-known scene arising out of one of their intrusions. It is done in her best *bravura* style.

"At dinner Mrs. Schwellenbergs presided, attired magnificently. Miss Goldsworthy, Mrs. Stainforth, Messrs. De Luc and Stanhope dined with us; and, while we were still eating fruit, the Duke of Clarence entered. He was just risen from the King's table, and waiting for his equipage to go home and prepare for the ball. To give you an idea of the energy of His Royal Highness's language, I ought to set apart a general objection to writing, or rather intimating, certain forcible words, and beg leave to show you in genuine colours a royal sailor. We all rose of course, upon his entrance, and the two gentlemen placed themselves behind their chairs, while the footmen left the room; but he ordered us all to sit down and called the men back to hand about some wine. He was in exceeding high spirits and in the utmost good humour. He placed himself at the head of the table, next Mrs. Schwellenberg, and looked remarkably well, gay, and full of sport and mischief, yet clever withal as well as comical.

"Well, this is the first day I have ever dined with the King at St. James's on his birthday. Pray, have you all drunk His Majesty's health?"

" 'No, your Roy'l Highness : your Roy'l Highness might make dem do dat,' said Mrs. Schwellenberg.

" 'Oh, by —— will I ! Here, you (to the footman); bring champagne ! I'll drink the King's health again, if I die for it ! Yet, I have done pretty well already : so has the King, I promise you ! I believe His Majesty was never taken such good care of before. We have kept his spirits up, I promise you ; we have enabled him to go through his fatigues ; and I should have done more still, but for the ball and Mary—I have promised to dance with Mary ! '

" Champagne being now brought for the Duke, he ordered it all round. When it came to me I whispered to Westerhaults to carry it on : the Duke slapped his hand violently on the table, and called out, ' Oh, by ——, you shall drink it ! '

" There was no resisting this. We all stood up, and the Duke sonorously gave the royal toast.

" 'And now,' cried he, making us all sit down again, " where are my rascals of servants ? I shan't be in time for the ball ; besides, I've got a deuced tailor waiting to fix on my epaulette ! Here, you go and see for my servants ! D'ye hear ? Scamper off ! '

" Off ran William.

" 'Come, let's have the King's health again. De Luc, drink it. Here, champagne to De Luc ! '

" I wish you could have seen Mr. De Luc's mixed simper—half pleased, half alarmed. However, the wine came and he drank it, the Duke taking a bumper for himself at the same time.

" 'Poor Stanhope ! ' cried he : ' Stanhope shall have a glass, too ! Here, champagne ! What are you all about ? Why don't you give champagne to poor Stanhope ? '

"Mr. Stanhope, with great pleasure, complied, and the Duke again accompanied him.

"'Come, hither, do you hear?' cried the Duke to the servants, and on the approach, slow and submissive, of Mrs. Stainforth's man, he hit him a violent slap on the back, calling out, 'Hang you! why don't you see for my rascals?'

"Away flew the man, and then he called out to Westerhaults, 'Hark'ee! bring another glass of champagne to Mr. De Luc!'

"Mr. De Luc knows these royal youths too well to venture so vain an experiment as disputing with them; so he only shrugged his shoulders and drank the wine. The Duke did the same.

"'And now, poor Stanhope,' cried the Duke; 'give another glass to poor Stanhope, d'ye hear?'

"'Is not your Royal Highness afraid,' cried Mr. Stanhope, displaying the full circle of his borrowed teeth, 'I shall be apt to be rather up in the world, as the folks say, if I tope on at this rate?'

"'Not at all! you can't get drunk in a better cause. I'd get drunk myself if it was not for the ball. Here, champagne! another glass for the philosopher! I keep sober for Mary.'

"'Oh, your Royal Highness!' cried Mr. De Luc, gaining courage as he drank, 'you will make me quite droll of it if you make me go on—quite droll!'

"'So much the better! so much the better! it will do you monstrous deal of good. Here, another glass of champagne for the Queen's philosopher!'

"Mr. De Luc obeyed, and the Duke then addressed Mrs. Schwellenberg's George. 'Here, you! you! why, where is my carriage? Run and see, do you hear?'

"Off hurried George, grinning irrepressibly.

"If it was not for that deuced tailor, I would not stir. I shall dine at the Queen's house on Monday, Miss Goldsworthy; I shall come to dine with Princess Royal. I find she does not go to Windsor with the Queen."

"The Queen meant to spend one day at Windsor, on account of a review which carried the King that way.

"Some talk then ensued on the Duke's new carriage, which they all agreed to be the most beautiful that day at Court. I had not seen it, which, to me, was some impediment against praising it.

"He then said it was necessary to drink the Queen's health.

"The gentlemen here made no demur, though Mr. De Luc arched his eyebrows in expressive fear of consequences.

"A bumper," cried the Duke, "to the Queen's gentleman-usher."

"They all stood up and drank the Queen's health.

"Here are three of us," cried the Duke, "all belonging to the Queen: the Queen's philosopher, the Queen's gentleman-usher, and the Queen's son; but, thank Heaven, I'm nearest!"

"Sir," cried Mr. Stanhope, a little affronted, "I am not now the Queen's gentleman-usher; I am the Queen's equerry, sir."

"A glass more of champagne here! What are you all so slow for? Where are all my rascals gone? They've put me in one passion already this morning. Come, a glass of champagne for the Queen's gentleman-usher!" laughing heartily.

"No, sir," repeated Mr. Stanhope; "I am equerry now, sir."

"And another glass to the Queen's philosopher!"

"Neither gentleman objected; but Mrs. Schwellen-

berg,\* who had sat laughing and happy all this time, now grew alarmed, and said: ‘Your Royal Highness, I am afraid for the ball! ’

“ ‘Hold you your potato-jaw, my dear,’ cried the Duke, patting her; but, recollecting himself, he took her hand and pretty abruptly kissed it, and then, flinging it hastily away, laughed loud and called out: ‘There! that will make amends for anything, so now I may say what I will. So here a glass of champagne for the Queen’s philosopher and the Queen’s gentleman-usher! Hang me if it will not do them a monstrous deal of good! ’

“Here news was brought that the equipage was in order. He started up, calling out: ‘Now, then, for my deuced tailor.’

“ ‘Oh, your Royal Highness! ’ cried Mr. De Luc, in a tone of expostulation, ‘now you have made us droll, you go! ’

“Off, however, he went. And is it not a curious scene? All my amaze is, how any of their heads bore such libations.”

\* The Prince did not relish the stiff manners of Madame Schwellenberg. “A story was circulated to the effect that he once entered a room where she was sitting, on which she was retiring with great haste; then returned and attempted to apologise, saying that she thought it was the Duke of York. ‘And suppose it was the Duke of York,’ said the Prince, giving old Schwellenberg a not very gracious look as she went off, adding, *sotto voce*, that she deserved a round dozen before all the pages of the back stairs.”

## CHAPTER VI.

ONE of the redeeming features in a long course of excesses and indiscretions was the warm affection that always subsisted between the Prince of Wales and his two brothers of York and Clarence. This, as the latter reminded his brother when King and on his death-bed, subsisted for over fifty years. The Duke was ever ready to take his side, and in the innumerable difficulties of the Prince of Wales we find him coming forward in Parliament, in defiance of his own interests, to champion his cause. Thus, in 1795, when what was the consideration for the Prince's marriage had to be paid, and there was rather a shabby attempt to avoid carrying out all the conditions of the contract. When the matter came before Parliament the Royal Sailor made a sensible speech on behalf of his brother, which was, indeed, styled "an elaborate and impassioned defence."

"A Prince of Wales," he went on to say, "by a particular law, became of age at eighteen, while every other subject did not attain his majority till he was twenty-one. A young man at that time of life, when the passions were at their height, might be led into expenses beyond his income even to a degree bordering

on extravagance, and yet the circumstance ought not to be considered as calling for any serious reflection."

He next said, "he would not betray anything that passed in private conversation, yet he could not avoid making some remarks on the manner in which the business had been introduced. It was a matter of public notoriety that, before the marriage took place, it was stipulated that the Prince should, in the event of the union, be disengaged of his debts. What could be understood by this stipulation, but that measures should be taken for the immediate exoneration of those debts—not, as by the provisions of the present bill, that they should be left hanging over for the space of nine years and a half, and perhaps a longer period. The authors of the bill had stated that the honour and stability of the throne rested upon the support of the independence and dignity of every branch of the Royal Family, and particularly of the Prince of Wales. Was the method they had taken calculated to support that dignity and that independence ?

"The Prince had, indeed, expressed his acquiescence in whatever measures the wisdom of Parliament might think proper to recommend ; but in what situation was he placed ? The bill, in one point of view, was a public bill—as every bill was which related to any member of the Royal Family ; but it was nevertheless more strictly a private bill, as nothing could be done without the consent of the Prince himself. Advantage then had been taken of the difficulties in which he was involved, in order to procure from him this consent. He was forced to express his acquiescence, in order that something might be done. He was in the situation of a man who, if he cannot get a particular haunch of venison, will take any other haunch, rather than go without."

The Duke next alluded to the great number of pamphlets which had been published in order to influence the minds of the good and generous people of England against his royal brother. He knew persons in another place, he said, who possessed great powers of eloquence and an abundant choice of animated expressions. These persons had exerted their powers in order to support the measure of granting a subsidy of £200,000 a year to the King of Sardinia, a sum of £1,200,000 to the King of Prussia, and lately a loan of £4,600,000 to the Emperor of Austria. But though on these occasions they displayed all their stores of animated language, yet, when they brought forward the situation of the Prince of Wales, they prefaced what they had to propose with the expressions—"an unpleasant task—an arduous undertaking—the distresses of the people in consequence of the war—the regret at laying additional burdens on the public"—yet he must remark, that if they had adopted, with regard to his brother, a language something more favourable, as to the impression it was calculated to give of his conduct, to the country, they would not have had a vote less to the present bill.

His Royal Highness next "touched on the situation of that lovely and amiable woman, the Princess of Wales, torn from her family; for, though her mother was the King's sister, she might still be said to be torn from her family, by being removed from all her early connexions; what must be her feelings from such circumstances, attendant on her reception in a country, where she had a right to expect everything befitting her high rank, and the exalted station to which she was called?" As the friend of the Prince, however, the Duke said, he would not oppose the passing of the present bill, for he

was convinced that the sooner it passed, the sooner would its absurdity and malignity appear.

If, as has been stated, the arrears of the Duchy of Cornwall were due to the Prince during the period of his minority, he hoped that question would be quickly brought forward, and he trusted that the noble lord (Loughborough), before whom it would come to be argued in his judicial capacity, and whose justice could not be impeached, would throw no impediment in the way of its speedy decision.

An allusion having been made to the foreign loan that had been negotiated on behalf of the three Princes, His Royal Highness took occasion to say, that the affair was completely settled.

Lord Grenville replied, and observed that he held no official situation under the Crown, when the debts of the Prince of Wales were before Parliament on a former occasion, but that the opinion he then formed, he still maintained on the subject.

The Duke again rose, and in retort observed the Secretary of State had said, that he was not a minister when the debts of the Prince of Wales were before Parliament on a former occasion. But His Royal Highness begged leave to recall to his recollection, that he was minister in 1792. He now wished to know, whether there was not a statement of facts on the encumbrances of the Prince of Wales at that time, presented to a certain quarter. He knew there was, and therefore the noble secretary could not be ignorant of the affairs of the Prince at that period.

Lord Grenville, in reply, said, with some heat, that as he was not inclined to enter into controversy with the Prince, he must decline any further contest on the subject. He had stated what part he had taken as a member of

Parliament, and what had officially occurred upon the matter before the House. He apprehended that it did not come within the line of his duty to state anything concerning what happened in another quarter."

After the battle of Cape St. Vincent Nelson returned, and was welcomed with delight by his royal patron, who hurried up from Bushey Park—a place of which he had been recently appointed Ranger—to greet his friend, whom he brought with him to Court.\*

The Duke of Clarence, like all his royal brothers, was fond of speaking, and in his place in the House of Lords often delivered his sentiments on the most varied questions. To some of these he made contributions of rather an eccentric kind, as when a Divorce Bill was brought forward in 1800, the Duke gave utterance, in the presence of his brothers, to excellent morality, branding the adulterer as "an insidious and designing villain, who would ever be held in disgrace and

\* A curious pageant presently followed, on Dec. 19th—a naval procession to St. Paul's, comprised of marines and sailors, with captured flags, the Lords and Commons, the Royal Family, etc., and a perfect band composed of all the fighting admirals then in London. The scene was a brilliant one, and likely to kindle all the martial sympathies of the nation. When the procession reached the church, the lieutenants, taking the flags from the waggons, attended by the seamen and marines, divided into two lines, for the captains to pass to their seats in the galleries. The colours were carried in procession, with martial music, to the middle of the dome, where they were placed in a circle. The Princesses, with the Dukes of York and Clarence, Prince Ernest, and the Duke of Gloucester, formed a crescent within the church; and opposite were the Lord Mayor, aldermen, sheriffs, and admirals. The service then began; and, at the end of the First Lesson, the flag-officers entered in two divisions, right and left of the King's chair, the ends of the flags supported by those officers who immediately followed the bearers in regular succession, advancing to the altar to deposit the naval trophies. The King was much affected at this unusual and brilliant spectacle.

abhorrence by an enlightened and civilised society." This criminal, however, he urged, might be changed into "a man of honour," by making reparation to his victim by marrying her. There was a grotesqueness in the test applied to the other victim, the injured husband :

"The husband," said the Duke, "who by suing for pecuniary damages obtained a verdict, was considered not a very honourable man if, when he received them, he put them in his own pocket, instead of returning them to the purse of the defendant."

These oddities excited much comment and even ridicule, and it was felt that, considering the life of the royal brothers, they had better not have taken part in such discussions. Another indiscreet interference was his defence of the slave-owners when Mr. Wilberforce brought forward his motion. He argued that, "having served for some time on the West India Station, he had had frequent opportunities of being an eye-witness of the treatment of the negro slaves, and he was able and ready to prove, whenever he was called upon, that the conduct observed towards the negroes was not contrary to any one principle of humanity and justice." From his observation he urged that the bringing of the slaves from the slave coast, where they were treated with shocking barbarity, "was a blessing instead of an evil"—it saved them from destruction, and placed them in a state of comfort; that the abolition of slavery would ruin commerce, etc., with other arguments of the same description. But the remarkable incident of the debate was an altercation between the Duke and Lord Grenville. That nobleman was betrayed into the extraordinary statement that "between him and His Royal Highness there could be personally no debate, because between them there was no equality."

For this he was called to order by Lord Romney, who said that he agreed that there was no equality between the illustrious Prince and any other member of that House; yet, that he always understood, as a peer, he stood in that House on a perfect equality with any personage in it, as to the right of speaking.

Lord Thurlow then interposed. "I wish to have it clearly understood," he said, "whether it is the constitution of this House that we are unequal in our rights to speak here. I am one of the lowest, in point of rank; I contend not for superiority of talent, or for preference, or for any consideration whatever; but I claim to be exactly equal, not only to the illustrious personage who has just spoken, and whom their lordships had heard with so much pleasure, but also with the Prince of Wales, if he were present, and acting as a peer of Parliament. I know," said the noble and learned lord, "of no difference between peers of Parliament, considered in their legislative character; and I do think that the lowest in rank in the House is equal to the highest, while we are debating. If rank or talent created an inequality in our rights to speak in this House, the illustrious personage who has just spoken would have a higher right than I pretend to have; but I do claim, for my humble self, an equality with every Prince of the Blood, or any other who has a seat in this House, to speak my sentiments with uncontrolled freedom."

When some time after, the slave question was again brought forward, the Duke, who had fallen into the habit of making rather "floundering" and incoherent speeches, delivered himself of some further foolish remarks:

"The complexion of the slaves," he said, "is the

obstacle to every redress ; their complexion is suitable to the climate ; that alone is a host against superior European discipline and knowledge. No temporising subterfuges of change will do good. An instantaneous emancipation is as bad, or worse. It is a system that is *incurable as mortality*. The slightest innovation will spread like flames over the sun-burnt fields of a West Indian island. The trade and the slavery must stand together, or the latter will fall. There must be no experiments of gradual prohibition of trade. The whites must keep up adequate numbers of themselves, of the strictest military discipline and headlong courage, with a constant watchfulness against arming the negroes, *and above all, that every roving missionary be expelled from their conversation*, and that they be immersed in illiterate stupidity."

His Royal Highness proceeded to state that Mr. James Ramsey, in the government of his own plantation in the island of Nevis, acted in the most tyrannical manner. *None but fanatics or hypocrites were for the abolition.* He concluded with some very severe animadversions on Mr. Wilberforce, and others, who had lately received from the National Convention the flattering distinction of republican denizenship—an honour which would never be envied by any loyal or virtuous man in England.

Lord Grenville, in reply, felt it his duty to censure, but in a serious and respectful manner, the language that had, in the ardour of debate, escaped His Royal Highness, to the injury of one of the most upright and loyal characters in the kingdom ; while Dr. Horsley, Bishop of St. David's, and a most determined opponent of the trade, repelled the charge of being a "fanatic," and the friend of Condorcet. "As to fanaticism," said the Bishop, "I know not at whom that shot was directed,

nor do I care. It concerns not me; conscious, as I am, that, with the profoundest reverence for religion, the constant tenour of my life bears not the slightest stamp of fanaticism." With respect to the charge of Jacobinism, thrown upon the abolitionists, the Bishop said, "that it was a wretched calumny, and that the question had no more to do with French philosophy, than with the religion of the Pharisees." His lordship acknowledged that he had formerly corresponded with Condorcet on mathematical subjects, but said, that, since the Revolution, he had neither written, nor received a letter from him.

This pleading made the Duke highly unpopular. He was attacked, ridiculed—the abolitionists accused him of being the bribed advocate of the slave-dealers. A caricature was published in which the Duke was represented leading a train of negroes in chains, whilst in the background were exhibited the various methods of inflicting punishment on the refractory slaves, especially on the women; the anti-abolitionists retaliated and published a counterpart, representing Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Clarkson, and a few Quakers drilling some negro recruits, and in the background were the insubordinates tied to the halberds. More suitable was his manly and generous tribute to the memory of Rodney: "I cannot give a silent vote on the present occasion. The services of the late Lord Rodney are so great, that it did infinite honour to His Majesty's Ministers to pay every respect to his memory, such services meriting the highest rewards from his country; and I am happy to hear this public testimony to their value and importance. For myself, I have particular reasons to endeavour to do justice to the singular merits of my deceased friend, who, unhappily for this country, is no more; but I hope

the House will indulge me a few moments, while I briefly recall to their recollection the noble services his lordship has rendered, which I am certain they can never forget."

After enumerating these services, he added : " But the most glorious period of his life was the 12th of April, 1782, which will ever be held as a most sacred epoch in this country. The enemies of England were vain enough to think they could crush her for ever ; but the event of that day clearly proved, that a British fleet, of nearly equal force, when opposed to a French fleet will be sure to beat them. The victory of the 12th of April was more honourable to Lord Rodney, as it was obtained over De Grasse, one of the best and bravest admirals that France ever produced. Had it been in the power of valour to have saved a brave man from disgrace and misfortune, it never would have been the lot of De Grasse to have been disgraced and banished from the French court—a conduct, however, that had too often prevailed in courts." It was that victory which decided the fate of the war, and taught our particular enemy, France, that however for a time we might be depressed, we arose, after a seeming defeat, with renovated strength and courage. "I trust," concluded the royal speaker, "this House will pardon my expatiating on the virtues and great professional merits of my departed friend, for which myself and every officer of the British navy entertain the highest respect and veneration."

For the son of Rodney he tried to obtain promotion, but failed. Indeed, the Duke of Kent and the Duke of Clarence \* in the direction of patronage seemed to have

\* That worthy old fencing-master, Angelo, who was "patronised by the nobility and gentry," and had the honour of instructing the Royal

been always damaging to their *protégés*, and the Admiralty and Horse Guards seem to have declined endorsing any of their recommendations. Nelson had warmly promised to forward the wishes of his patron in this respect, but seems to have failed. "I agree with your Royal Highness," he wrote, "that the son of Rodney ought to be the *protégé* of every person in the kingdom, and particularly of all sea officers. Had I known that there had been this claimant, some of my own lieutenants must have given way to such a name, and he should have been placed on the *Victory*. The whole fleet is full, and I have twenty on my list, but whatever number I have the name of Rodney must cut many of them out."

## DUKE OF CLARENCE TO CAPTAIN CHRISTIAN.

"Clarence Lodge, Jan. 22, 1792.

"DEAR SIR,

"I am to return you many thanks for your obliging letter of the 19th inst., which came safe to hand yesterday, and, in answer, cannot help observing that, in the present critical and awful state of affairs in this country, is not only a measure replete with danger, but mischief. The minister, if he has at heart the true interest of the kingdom, will bring Dukes in this accomplishment, records with much admiration and loyalty the following act of seamanship of the Prince :

"It will appear by the books of the *Valiant* that, from the 12th of May, 1790, to the 27th of November following, the illustrious Duke was borne on her books as captain, and continued on board nearly the whole of that time, cruising in the chops of the Channel and several leagues to the westward with a view of exercising her crew. Her Royal Commander one day received orders to proceed to Portamouth. In consequence of sudden unfavourable appearances in the weather, it was advisable for the ship to proceed through the Needles; and orders were accordingly issued to that effect; but the Duke having learnt that the master had never taken a *ship of the line* through that channel,

nothing forward to cause violent debate, but those measures immediately requisite to counteract the spirit of licentiousness, little short of rebellion, and which, if not subdued, must end, I am afraid, fatally. I fancy these sentiments of mine are not very different from yours and those who are sincerely attached to the King and Constitution, for they never can, or ought to be divided. By all means let me know the various steps that are taken *pro* and *con.* in this New Forest business, and likewise how the people feel in your island, and their sentiments as to reform, &c., &c., to the end of this new and truly damnable political creed. My best wishes attend Mrs. Christian and your family, and ever believe."

PRINCE WILLIAM TO CAPTAIN CHRISTIAN.

"St. James's, Dec. 25, 1795.

"DEAR SIR,

"I am to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 17th inst., and feel very much obliged to you for the communication of Lord Howe's signals. If you ask me my opinion relative to Lord Howe's conduct while in command, try to take up from the year 'seventy-six, when his lordship went to America. He is, in my opinion, deservedly unpopular for his conduct with his brother in not doing their utmost against the rebels. On his lordship's conducting the British fleet to the relief of Gibraltar in 'eighty-two, I shall ever

and had become alarmed at so important a charge (as at that period such an undertaking was deemed), lost not a moment in relieving the master from his apprehensions, by saying, in the presence of the entire ship's company, that he would himself navigate the ship, with the blessing of Providence, to her anchorage. And to the high gratification of the officers and men, the *Valiant* was ably piloted through the *Narrows* and brought to her berth at Spithead."

think him to blame in risking an action, after he had performed the service on which he was sent, with so superior a force as the combined fleets of France and Spain. In the armament of 'ninety Lord Howe made himself unnecessarily unpopular by taking Curtis as his first captain, and not permitting officers to go on shore. During this last summer, this same unpopularity, from the same motives, has caused a violent party in the fleet, and consequently the letters teem with abuse relative to his lordship's conduct when in sight of the enemy's fleet, the *first* and *last* cruises.

"I believe from my information that on both these occasions Lord Howe did his duty to his King and his country ; though, at the same time, I think his lordship was ill-advised upon the sight of the French squadron during the last cruise not to make the general signal for chase to please John Bull. I am sure you will forgive my freedom. You are, I understand, shortly again to return to sea with the different convoys, and then, I suppose, you will have some quiet. Adieu for the present, and believe me."

## THE DUKE OF CLARENCE TO LORD NELSON.

"Clarence Lodge, Sept. 21, —

"MY DEAR NELSON,

"I beg leave to acknowledge the receipt of your friendly letter of the 12th inst., that came safely. I am so fully persuaded of your real regard for me, my good friend, that no fresh mark can be wanting to convince me. Still, however, at the present moment, when the public have two opinions, the one good, the other disadvantageous, of my parliamentary conduct, I feel highly obliged to you, as a person qualified to judge,

for delivering your sentiments. I think it is the duty of every subject to prevent, if possible, that confusion which might throw our kingdom into the wretched, deplorable state of France. Assure our common friends in the West Indies, that I will neither neglect nor desert them. My best wishes and compliments attend Mrs. Nelson, and ever believe me yours,

“ WILLIAM.”

LORD NELSON TO THE DUKE OF CLARENCE.

“ SIR,

“ Your Royal Highness will not, I trust, deem it improper, although I have no doubt it will be thought unnecessary, at this time, to renew my expressions of invariable attachment, not only to your Royal Highness but to my King; for I think that very soon every individual will be called forth to show himself, if I may judge from this country, where societies are formed and forming on principles inimical to our present Constitution, both in Church and State. Sorry am I to believe that many give a countenance to these societies, who ought to conduct themselves otherwise.

“ In what way it might be in the power of such a humble individual as myself best to serve my King has been matter of serious consideration, and no mode appeared to me so proper as asking for a ship; accordingly, on Saturday last, Lord Chatham received my letter desiring the command of one. Still, as I have hitherto been disappointed in all my applications to his Lordship, I can hardly expect any answer to my letter, which has always been the way I have been treated. But neither at sea, nor on shore, can my attachment to my King be shaken. It will but end with my life.”

## THE DUKE OF CLARENCE TO NELSON.

"DEAR NELSON,

"Though at present the armament is confined to small vessels, I much doubt whether any fleet will be equipped, and still less do I see any chance of any rupture between this country and France. At the same time, this pernicious and fallacious system of equality and universal liberty must be checked, or else we shall here have the most dreadful consequences. I perfectly agree with you that it is the duty of every individual to use his utmost efforts to counteract those incendiaries; and I hope we shall in Parliament take vigorous and effectual means to restore tranquillity at home. Should matters between the two countries grow serious, you must be employed. Never be alarmed; I will always stand your friend. I wish you would write me word how you and Lord Hood are at present. My best wishes and compliments attend Mrs. Nelson, and ever believe me, etc.,

"WILLIAM."

In 1793, the Duke was promoted to be "Rear-Admiral of the Red," but, like his eldest brother, he was to apply for active employment in vain. This, it was believed, was owing to his political opinions, and to his having opposed Mr. Pitt. He found comfort, however, in stimulating the martial ardour of the Teddington Volunteers, whom he thus encouraged: "My friends and neighbours! wherever our duty calls us, I will go with you, fight in your ranks, and never return home without you."

In the following year (1794) the Duke ardently supported the Ministers in the debate on the address;

defended the war in what was described as one of the most rambling, "inconclusive, and unargumentative speeches ever delivered," urging that, as France had set the example of *cutting off the heads of their King and Queen*, it was not at all improbable that the same system might be adopted in other countries, and Europe might exhibit the extraordinary spectacle of thrones without Kings, and Kings without heads. As to any alarm for the safety of their country, he deprecated the idea of it, so long as his gallant brother was at the head of the army, who no doubt before the end of the ensuing campaign would drive the French back into their own territory, and force them to sue for peace at the feet of their royal conqueror.

He was thoroughly convinced that the war was highly popular with the people of this country, who were more than desirous to protect their blessed Constitution, their laws, their rights and privileges from the attacks and encroachments of French regicides who, by the prowess of his royal brother, would soon be made to answer for the enormity of their crime. The English people he knew to be brave, generous, and loyal, and although he would not recommend the general principle of intervention in the affairs of other nations, yet when they carried their revolutionary spirit to that excess as to cut off the heads of their King and Queen, then, indeed, would England be highly culpable and deserving of the contempt of all the nations of Europe, if she did not interfere and show the regicides that they were not to cut off the heads of Kings and Queens like so many poppies in a garden without meeting with the severest punishment, by cutting off their heads in return. He then alluded to the capture of Toulon, which had been mainly effected by the extraordinary bravery of the

English navy, and that although of thirty-one ships of the line, Britain had obtained only three, yet it was highly satisfactory to the country to know that Lord Hood had taught the French a lesson which they would never forget whenever the two fleets of the hostile nations should meet on the open seas. His Royal Highness then warmly panegyrised Napoleon Bonaparte, who had conducted the siege of Toulon, although a subaltern in the artillery, and His Royal Highness concluded a wild and extravagant speech, with calling upon the people to resist the revolutionary spirit of France, and to rally round that throne which had been the source to them of so much blessing and national prosperity.

He addressed a personal appeal to the Admiralty for employment:

THE DUKE OF CLARENCE TO THE LORDS OF THE ADMIRALTY.

"Clarence Lodge, March 15, 1794.

"MY LORDS,

"At a time when this country is engaged in a war with a powerful and active enemy, whose great aim appears to be the subversion of all the ancient monarchies of Europe, it becomes every man who values the Constitution under which he enjoys so many blessings, to rally round the throne, and protect it from the dangers by which it is so imminently threatened. Conscious that during my naval career, I never committed an act which could tarnish the honour of the flag under which it was my pride and glory to fight, I solicit in this hour of peril to my country that employment in her service which every subject is bound to seek, and particularly myself, considering the exalted rank which I hold in the country, and the cause which it is my duty to maintain and defend. I regard a refusal of that employment as

a tacit acknowledgment of my incapacity, and which cannot fail to degrade me in the opinion of the public, who, from the conduct which has been pursued towards me, are justified in drawing a conclusion unfavourable to my professional character, on account of the very marked neglect which has been shown towards every application on my part which has been transmitted to your lordships to be employed in the service of my country. If the rank which I hold in the navy operates as an impediment to my obtaining the command of a ship without that of a squadron being attached to it, I will willingly relinquish that rank, under which I had formerly the command of a ship, and serve as a volunteer on board any ship to which it may please your lordships to appoint me. All I require is active service, and that when my gallant countrymen are fighting the cause of their country and their sovereign, I may not have the imputation thrown upon me of living a life of inglorious ease, when I ought to be in the front of danger.

“WILLIAM.”

Of this appeal not the slightest notice was taken, on which the Duke, stung by such contemptuous neglect, complained to his royal father:

DUKE OF CLARENCE TO THE KING.

“March 24, 1794.

“SIR,

“On the 15th of this month I addressed a letter to the Lords of the Admiralty, of which I transmit you a copy, soliciting from them that employment in the service of my country to which my rank and character entitle me. To neglect they have added insult, inasmuch as they have withheld from me even that courtesy

which is due to every individual who makes a respectful tender of his services at a momentous period like the present, when everything that is valuable to an Englishman is at stake, and the throne on which you sit is endangered by the machinations of regicides and revolutionists. As in this treatment of the Lords of the Admiralty my character as a naval officer becomes seriously implicated, I am emboldened to make this appeal to my royal father, soliciting from him that he will be pleased to issue his commands to the Lords of the Admiralty to grant me that employment which I desire, or publicly to state the grounds on which their refusal is founded.

“WILLIAM.”

It will be remembered that the Prince of Wales attracted much attention by addressing the same sort of appeal to his father, and, later, to his brother, then Duke of York, and Commander-in-Chief; but neither were successful.

DUKE OF CLARENCE TO LORD NELSON.

“July 4, 1797.

“DEAR NELSON,

“I am very happy to find that you had executed with so much success and promptitude Lord Viscount St. Vincent’s order for the evacuation of Port Ferrago. I feel for poor Oakes on every account, and sincerely wish he was safe at home; and, believe me, I am also much concerned at the state of your own health. After such long and distinguished service, you will, of course, get leave to return. In answer to your last letter, I can only say that I hope and believe our confidence is mutual; therefore, in future, no apology on either side is wanted. Under this idea I must begin by defending

an officer against whom you have become prejudiced ; want of discipline in some of our home squadrons, and the energy of infamous incendiaries, had for many months thrown the whole fleet into a state of democracy and absolute rebellion. I rejoice that the *Theseeus* has fallen into such good hands, and that I shall shortly hear she is in the best order of the Mediterranean fleet. One word more about what has passed at Spithead, Plymouth, and the Nore, and I will never mention the disgraceful business again ; but I cannot pass over your remark about short weights and measures. Every officer must know that, by the old allowance, the men on board the King's ships had more provisions than they could consume, and that they always sold a part ; therefore, an increase of provisions was not wanted. I will not hurt your mind by relating the horrid particulars of the late events, but shall conclude the subject by observing that, in your next, you will unsay what you have too hastily expressed. I dread nothing, as the Government here appear to pursue proper measures ; and I am convinced St. Vincent will keep up his discipline. Lenity at first is severity at last. My best wishes and compliments attend your gallant commander ; my only acquaintance with him is as an officer. His very great attention and abilities were shown to me during the Spanish armament, since which time I have, and always shall respect him. You will, I am sure, always distinguish yourself ; and I am afraid, from the exorbitant demands of the Directory, that for some time your fleet will be constantly employed. I am happy to find you are at last come over to my way of thinking. As circumstances arise, pray write, and ever believe me, dear sir, yours sincerely,

"WILLIAM."

When Nelson returned to England in 1799, almost invalided, he was welcomed warmly by his friend, and carried off by him to Bushey House, where he was kept until he was quite recovered.

THE DUKE OF CLARENCE TO SIR T. SINCLAIR.

"Had this country an able and an active administration, I should be afraid of nothing; but, in my opinion, our ministers, and even the country, want energy, which I will endeavour to give in every debate we shall have in Parliament. I am ready either for the Cabinet or the Fleet, but I have no reason to expect either situation, and must do all the good I can in Parliament; and if the invasion does take place, I shall have the honour of attending His Majesty, if permitted."

In a subsequent letter he writes : "As for politics, you never heard me say I thought the present administration efficient, and without doubt Lord Hobart is the worst of all. But I see no likelihood of a change; where Pitt goes against Addington, there Fox will support ministers; and Fox will oppose Government in those measures which Pitt will approve. In short, if these champions could unite, they would not carry above one hundred members out of six hundred and fifty-eight. The Crown, the union with Ireland, and above all, the dread of the times, will, in my opinion, prevent a change of men. Certainly Lord Moira ought to be brought forward, and I wish the overtures of the Prince of Wales had been rejected."

## CHAPTER VII.

In the course of his professional life at home and abroad the Sailor Prince became acquainted with many of the leading officers and distinguished admirals, and with whom he continued on terms of fast friendship all through his life. Such friendships a Prince in the naval profession would have no difficulty in forming ; but it is plain that there was a cordiality and zeal in his regard, which he showed by his exertions in their behalf, even though these exertions, he felt, would be attended with little result. The names of Nelson, Collingwood, and Saumarez, were among those whom he thus distinguished. His intimacy with Nelson we have followed, but his regard for Collingwood was even more creditable to him. He did his best to aid him and his family, and his letters are full of a sincere sympathy.

PRINCE WILLIAM TO CAPTAIN COLLINGWOOD.

"Nevia, May 3, 1787.

"MY DEAR COLLINGWOOD,

"To be the messenger of bad news is my misfortune ; but still it is a tribute we owe each other. I have lost my friend—you an affectionate brother ; too great a zeal in the service of his country has hastened

his end. The greatest consolation the survivor can receive is a thorough knowledge of a life spent with honour to himself and of service to his country. If the tribute of tears be valuable, my friend had it. The esteem he stood in with His Royal Highness was great. His letter to me on his death is the strongest testimony of it. I send you an extract of it : ‘ Collingwood, poor fellow ! is no more. I have cried for him, and most sincerely do I condole with you on his loss. In him His Majesty has lost a faithful servant and the service of a most excellent officer.’ ”

DUKE OF CLARENCE TO ADMIRAL COLLINGWOOD.

“ St. James’s, Nov. 9, 1805.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ As a brother admiral, and as a sincere well-wisher to my King and my country, permit me to congratulate you on the most important victory, gained on the 21st of October, by your gallant self, and the brave officers, seamen, and royal marines, under your command, and formerly under my lamented and invaluable friend Lord Nelson. The country laments the hero, and you and I the loss of our departed friend. Five-and-twenty years had I lived on the most intimate terms with Nelson, and must ever, both publicly and privately, regret his loss. Earl St. Vincent and Lord Nelson, both in the hour of victory, accepted from me a sword, and I hope you will now confer on me the same pleasure. I have, accordingly, sent a sword, with which I trust you will accept my sincere wishes for your welfare. I must request you will let me have the details of the death of our departed friend ; and I will ever remain, dear sir, yours unalterably,

“ WILLIAM.”

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At Lord Nelson's funeral, on the 9th January, 1806, the Duke of Clarence, with his brothers of Wales and York, formed part of the procession to St. Paul's.

## DUKE OF CLARENCE TO LORD COLLINGWOOD.

“ May 21, 1808.

“ MY DEAR LORD,

“ A few days ago, I received your lordship's letter of the 30th of March, which has given me great satisfaction. I am most seriously interested in all your operations, and must be allowed to be a sincere friend and well-wisher to the navy; for though I have lost one son on board the *Blenheim*, I have just started another with my old friend and shipmate, Kcates; and I have another breeding up for the quarter-deck. From the secresy of those Frenchmen, and their power on the Continent—which are equally known to your lordship and myself—the affairs of war are more intricate than ever; but in your hands the interests of the country are safe. The great object of the enemy must be Sicily; for your lordship observes, with as much truth as wisdom, that we cannot maintain ourselves in the Mediterranean without that island. I sincerely trust that the next time the French venture out, your lordship will fall in with them; the event will speak for itself—another Trafalgar. All I ask is, that the life of the gallant admiral may be spared to his grateful country. Your lordship mentions my approbation and friendship. Had not circumstances, which it is unnecessary to dwell upon, prevented me following our profession, I should have been proud to have seen the word ‘approbation’ in your lordship's letter; but situated as I am, I must to your lordship confess, that I merit not that epithet; but every individual who does his duty well is sure of

my friendship. I need not say more to Lord Collingwood, the bosom friend of my ever-to-be-lamented Nelson. I took my second son to Deal, which gave me an opportunity of visiting the different ships there. I was very much pleased with what I saw, and found the navy infinitely improved. This country cannot pay too much attention to her naval concerns. We are the only barrier to the omnipotence of France, and it is to our navy alone that we owe this superiority. Though I have not yet the advantage of being personally known to your lordship, I trust I may be reasonably permitted to take up my pen, and that as events may arise your lordship will favour me with a few lines. I know your time is invaluable. For the present, adieu! Believe me most sincerely interested in your lordship's welfare, and in the success of those valuable officers and men under your lordship's command. I remain ever, my dear lord, yours unalterably,

"WILLIAM."

Collingwood perhaps offers the noblest specimen of the British naval officer—brave as a lion, unselfish, untheatrical, putting up with unmerited official slights, and in being “passed over,” all for the good of the service; and while away doing battle for his country, with a most affectionate nature yearning for his family, gentle as a woman, modest. It is impossible to follow the course of this noble being without pride and admiration. See him in action, falling on the Spaniards at Cape St. Vincent. His style of writing was vivid and dramatic. He thus describes the onset in a letter to his wife:

“We flew to them as a hawk to his prey, passed through them in the disordered state in which they

were, separated them into two distinct parts, and then tacked upon their largest division. I by chance became the admiral's leader (Nelson was in the *Captain*), and had the good fortune to get very early into action. The first ship we engaged was the *San Salvador del Mundo*, of 112 guns, a first-rate ; we were not farther from her when we began than the length of our garden. Her colours soon came down, and her fire ceased. I hailed, and asked if they surrendered ; and when by signs made by a man who stood by the colours, I understood that they had, I left her to be taken possession of by somebody behind, and made sail for the next, but was very much surprised on looking back to find her colours up again, and the battle recommenced. We very soon came up with the next, the *San Isidro*, 74, so close alongside, that a man might jump from one ship to the other. Our fire carried all before it ; and in ten minutes she hauled down her colours ; but I had been deceived once, and obliged this fellow to hoist English colours before I left him, and made a signal for somebody behind to board him, when the admiral ordered the *Lively* frigate to take charge of him. Then, making all sail, passing between our line and the enemy, we came up with the *San Nicolas*, of 80 guns, which happened at the time to be abreast of the *San Josef*, of 112 guns. We did not touch sides, but you could not put a bodkin between us, so that our shot passed through both ships, and in attempting to extricate themselves, they got on board each other. My good friend the commodore had been long engaged with those ships, and I came happily to his relief, for he was dreadfully mauled. Having engaged them until their fire ceased on me, though their colours were not down, I went on to the *Santissima Trinidad*, the Spanish Admiral

Cordova's ship, of 132 guns, on four complete decks—such a ship as I never saw before. By this time our masts, sails, and rigging were so much shot, that we could not get so near her as I would have been; but near enough to receive much injury from her, both in my men and ship. We were engaged an hour with this ship, and trimmed her well—she was a complete wreck."

He touches lightly on the relief he gave to his "good friend the commodore," but Nelson gave a different version. "Captain Collingwood," he says, "disdaining the parade of taking possession of beaten enemies, pushed up, with every sail set, to save his old friend and messmate, who was, to all appearance, in a critical situation. The *Excellent* ranged up, and hauling her mainsail just astern, passed within ten feet of the *San Nicolas*, giving her a most awful and tremendous fire."

His feelings on being ordered home to England, and when he had to congratulate his friend Ball on the victory of the Nile :

"Oh, my dear Ball, how I have lamented that I was not one of you! Many a victory has been won, and I hope many are yet to come, but there never has been, nor will be perhaps again, one in which the fruits have been so completely gathered, the blow so nobly followed up, and the consequences so fairly brought to account. I have been almost broken-hearted all the summer. My ship was in as perfect order for any service as those which were sent; in zeal I will yield to none; and my friendship—my love for your admirable admiral gave me a particular interest in serving with him. I saw them preparing to leave us, and to leave me, with pain; but our good chief found employment for me, and to occupy my mind, sent me to cruise off

St. Luccars, to intercept—the market-boats, the poor cabbage-criers. Oh, humiliation ! But for the consciousness that I did not deserve degradation from any hand, and that my good estimation would not be depreciated in the minds of honourable men by the caprice of power, I should have died with indignation. I am tired of it ; and you will believe I am glad that to-morrow I depart for England."

Yet with this greed for hard knocks no one more longed for his fireside and his dear girls :

" It is a great comfort to me, banished as I am from all that is dear to me, to learn that my beloved Sarah and her girls are well. Would to heaven it were peace ! that I might come, and for the rest of my life be blessed in their affection. Indeed, this unremitting hard service is a great sacrifice, giving up all that is pleasurable to the soul, or soothing to the mind, and engaging in a constant contest with the elements, or with tempers and dispositions as boisterous and untractable. Great allowance should be made for us when we come on shore ; for being long in the habits of absolute command, we grow impatient of contradiction, and are unfitted for the gentle intercourse of quiet life. I am really in great hopes that it will not be long before the experiment will be made upon me, for I think we shall soon have peace ; and I assure you that I will endeavour to conduct myself with as much moderation as possible. I have come to another resolution, which is, when this war is happily terminated, to think no more of ships, but pass the rest of my days in the bosom of my family, where I think my prospects of happiness are equal to any man's."

It would be idle to say that he was not often dis-

contented, and grumbled at the fashion in which the Admiralty dispensed rewards and honours ; but it was for those who had served under him and were passed over, not for himself. In the moment of victory he had promoted some young midshipmen from Nelson's ship, and also some of his own fighting men. His promotions were annulled, and he was coldly and ungraciously told that, "In order to prevent disappointment to individuals, I must beg that you will strictly conform to the rules laid down by the Admiralty, by which they leave deaths and court-martial vacancies to the commanding officer, and reserve all others to themselves." The First Lord added "that he should send him a list of his own candidates."

No wonder he wrote in indignant remonstrance :

"It will scarcely be credited, that I am the only commander in that fleet who has not had, by the courtesy of the Admiralty, an opportunity to advance one officer of any description. My first lieutenant (he adds) stands where I placed him, covered with his wounds, while some of those serving in private ships are post-captains. Lieutenant Landless (he continues), the only person I recommended to your lordship, is an old and valuable officer ; he has followed me from ship to ship all the war. My other lieutenant, who removed with me into the *Sovereign*, was, happily for him, killed in action, and thereby saved from the mortification to which otherwise he would probably have been subjected."

The Duke of Clarence said later : "I am clearly of opinion, the lieutenants deserve and ought to be promoted : I am for liberal rewards : I have ever been, and ever shall be of opinion that zeal and bravery ought to be the great and sole causes of promotion."

When it came to rewards of money, he showed the same noble disdain.

This true and gallant hero, for such he was, united the sweetest and most amiable nature with the heart of a lion, a fine capacity for his profession, and a strictness of discipline. Mutinous subjects were sent to him, his resolute treatment being so well known. A rebellious sailor, who had loaded a cannon to fire on any one who attempted to punish him, was thus sent to him. "On his arrival on board the *Excellent*, Captain Collingwood, in the presence of many of the sailors, said to him, with great sternness of manner, 'I know your character well, but beware how you attempt to excite insubordination in this ship; for I have such confidence in my men, that I am certain I shall hear in an hour of everything you are doing. If you behave well in future, I will treat you like the rest, nor notice here what happened in another ship: but if you endeavour to excite mutiny, mark me well, I will instantly head you up in a cask, and throw you into the sea.' Under the treatment which he met with in the *Excellent*, this man became a good and obedient sailor, and never afterwards gave any cause of complaint."

Yet another trait supplies the secret of his influence:

"When a midshipman made a complaint, he would order the man for punishment the next day; and, in the interval, calling the boy down to him, would say, 'In all probability the fault was yours; but whether it were or not, I am sure it would go to your heart to see a man old enough to be your father disgraced and punished on your account; and it will, therefore, give me a good opinion of your disposition, if, when he is brought out, you ask for his pardon.' When this recommendation, acting as it did like an order, was complied

with, and the lad interceded for the prisoner, Captain Collingwood would make great apparent difficulty in yielding ; but at length would say, ‘This young gentleman has pleaded so humanely for you, that in the hope that you will feel a due gratitude to him for his benevolence, I will for this time overlook your offence.’”

He watched over all his men, attended them when sick, and treated them with unvarying kindness, so that “though no man less courted what is called popularity, the sailors considered him, and called him their father ; and frequently, when he changed his ship, many of the men were seen in tears at his departure.” He would not permit his officers to make use of coarse or violent language to the men : “If you do not know a man’s name,” he would say, “call him *sailor*, and not *you-sir*, and such other appellations : they are offensive and improper.” If he had to reprove an officer, it was always done in few words, and in the language of a gentleman ; and, though strict in exacting from them the due performance of every part of their duty, he never teased or worried them with unnecessary trifles. From his superiors, on the other hand, he always expected that respect to which by his character and station he was entitled. Here is a perfect lesson in the art of dealing with inferiors, addressed to his girls :

“I received your letter, my dearest child, and it made me very happy to find that you and dear Mary were well, and taking pains with your education. The greatest pleasure I have amidst my toils and troubles, is in the expectation which I entertain of finding you improved in knowledge. When I write to you, my beloved child, so much interested am I that you should be amiable and worthy of the friendship and esteem of good and wise people, that I cannot forbear to second

and enforce the instruction which you receive by admonition of my own, pointing out to you the great advantages that will result from a temperate conduct and sweetness of manner to all people on all occasions. It does not follow that you are to coincide and agree in opinion with every ill-judging person ; but, after showing them your reason for dissenting from their opinion, your argument and opposition to it should not be tinctured by anything offensive. Never forget for one moment that you are a gentlewoman ; and all your words and all your actions should mark you gentle. I never knew your mother—your dear, your good mother —say a harsh or a hasty thing to any person in my life. Endeavour to imitate her. I am quick and hasty in my temper ; my sensibility is touched sometimes with a trifle, and my expression of it sudden as gunpowder ; but, my darling, it is a misfortune, which, not having been sufficiently restrained in my youth, has caused me much pain. It has, indeed, given me more trouble to subdue this natural impetuosity than anything I ever undertook. I believe that you are both mild ; but if ever you feel in your little breasts that you inherit a particle of your father's infirmity, restrain it, and quit the subject that has caused it until your serenity be recovered. So much for mind and manners ; next for accomplishments. No sportsman ever hits a partridge without aiming at it ; and skill is acquired by repeated attempts. It is the same thing in every art : unless you aim at perfection you will never attain it ; but frequent attempts will make it easy. Never, therefore, do anything with indifference. Whether it be to mend a rent in your garment, or finish the most delicate piece of art, endeavour to do it as perfectly as it is possible."

As we thus turn from the hero at his duties to find him writing to his family and to his "sweet" daughters, who could think that this was the terror of the Frenchmen, the intrepid captain !

In one of the old autograph catalogues, which often contains much entertaining matter, I find the following letter from the brave old admiral to his old gardener Scott. It is despatched from on board the *Ocean* in November, 1806.

"GOOD OLD SCOTT,

"The winter is coming and the weather cold, and as I suppose your lady is gone as usual amongst the fine people at Newcastle, and left for a little time the good people at Morphet, I have sent you a little present to help to keep you warm. How does the garden go on, does it look comfortable, and do my trees thrive ? I wish I was with you to plant a few nice cabbages for spring, for I get very few here, and I am afraid before the war is over I shall be too old to do much good amongst them. I have not had a salad, Scott, nor even a cauliflower, these two years, nothing but salt-fish and seaweeds.

"They tell me Peggy is going to be married to a sailor. I desire you will advise her not to do so foolish a thing—a woman may as well be without a husband as have a sailor."

Pining for home, and literally worn out with his nearly fifty years' hard service, and feeling himself dying, he made a request that he might be allowed to return home to his family, if consistent with the state of the service. It was pointed out to him by the authorities that he could not be spared, and he

acquiesced at once. At last he was permitted, but it was too late. He rallied on beginning the voyage, declaring that he hoped to meet the French once more: thus "strong in death" appeared "the ruling passion." On the following morning, when his friend Captain Thomas, on entering his cabin, observed that he feared the motion of the vessel disturbed him, "No, Thomas," he replied, "I am now in a state in which nothing in this world can disturb me more. I am dying; and I am sure it must be consolatory to you, and all who love me, to see how comfortably I am going to my end."

He told one of his attendants that he had endeavoured to review, as far as was possible, all the actions of his past life, and that he had the happiness to say that nothing gave him a moment's uneasiness. He spoke, at times, of his absent family, and of the doubtful contest in which he was about to leave his country involved, but ever with calmness and perfect resignation to the will of God; and in this state of mind, after taking an affectionate farewell of his attendants, he expired without a struggle, at six o'clock in the evening, having attained the age of fifty-nine years and six months.

THE DUKE OF CLARENCE TO LORD COLLINGWOOD.

"December 7, 1809.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"Your lordship's agreeable letter of November 3rd, from off Cape St. Sebastian, has reached me, and I congratulate you sincerely on the event of Admiral Martin having destroyed the ships of the line, and Captain Hollowell having made an end of the convoy. I am only to lament that the enemy did not give your lordship and the British fleet an opportunity of doing

more; and I trust, from the bottom of my heart, that the next letter which you will have occasion to write will bring the news of the Toulon squadron being in your lordship's power. It is odd that the enemy should have selected the 21st of October for sailing; and extraordinary, also, that the French should build such fine ships, and handle them so ill. I am glad that your lordship is satisfied with the conduct of our officers and men on this occasion; and am clearly of opinion that the lieutenants deserve, and ought, to be promoted. I am for liberal rewards. The gallant Keith, of course, comes within my ideas of promotions and gratuities. I have ever been, and ever shall be, of opinion that zeal and bravery ought to be the sole causes of promotion. Your former favourite, the Empress Catherine, knew well this secret of state; and your lordship's observation is quite correct, that Her Imperial Majesty carried the same notions even into her private amusements: 'None but the brave,' my dear lord. I am glad that Sprainger has done his duty, in taking four out of the seven islands, and hope the remainder will soon fall. The enemy must feel very awkward without them, and cannot fail to be interrupted in attempting the Morea. My best wishes attend your lordship, publicly and privately; and believe me ever, my dear lord, yours most sincerely,

"WILLIAM."

The gallant Keith was soon after promoted to the rank of post-captain; but died in the prime of manhood, at Aberdeen, in 1816. It was not long after he had been promoted that he saw the death of his patron, Lord Collingwood. The admiral was worn out by fatigue and hard service, having been scarcely out

of his ship from the battle of Trafalgar to the hour he expired. He had again and again vainly applied to be relieved. He had been nearly five years on the ocean at one spell. The widow sent a mourning ring to the Duke of Clarence.

## THE DUKE OF CLARENCE TO LADY COLLINGWOOD.

" Bushey House, Saturday Night.

" MADAM,

" I this morning received a mourning ring in memory of the deceased Lord Collingwood, which, of course, I owe to your ladyship's politeness and attention. No one can regret the melancholy event of the death of his lordship more sincerely than I do; and I feel great concern in having been prevented from attending the funeral. I was informed the interment was to be quite private, or else I should have made a point of attending the remains of my departed friend to the grave. No one could have had a more sincere regard for the public character and abilities of Lord Collingwood than myself; indeed, with me it is enough to have been the friend of Nelson, to possess my estimation. The hero of the Nile, who fell at Trafalgar, was a man of great mind, but self-taught; Lord Collingwood, the old companion in arms of the immortal Nelson, was equally great in judgment and abilities, and had also the advantage of an excellent education. Pardon me, madam, for having said so much on this melancholy occasion; but my feelings as a brother officer, and my admiration of the late Lord Collingwood\* have dictated

\* When, after the battle of Trafalgar, grateful record of Nelson was made in both Houses, and thanks given to the services, it was the Duke of Clarence that caused Collingwood's name to be introduced.

this expression of my sentiments. I will now conclude and shall place on the same finger the ring which your ladyship has sent me, with a gold bust of Lord Nelson. Lord Collingwood's must ever be prized by me, as coming from his family. The bust of Lord Nelson I received from an unknown hand, on the day the announcement of his death reached this country. To me the two rings are invaluable; and the sight of them must ever give me sensations of grief and admiration. I remain ever, madam, your ladyship's obedient and most humble servant,

“WILLIAM.”

The Duke had before addressed a letter to Commodore Owen, who commanded a squadron in the Channel, in which he alludes to his own ardent desire of employment, and the wish he felt to share in the dangers of the war, and to accompany the brave men who were gathering laurels from the enemy. “When I shall have the honour to hoist my flag, I cannot be certain; but I am very much inclined to think that eventually I shall have the honour and happiness of commanding those fine fellows whom I saw in the spring, in the Downs and at Portsmouth. My short stay at Admiral Campbell's had impressed me with very favourable ideas of the improved state of the navy; but my residence at Portsmouth had afforded me ample opportunity of examining, and consequently of having a perfect judgment of the high and correct discipline now established in the King's service.”

The late Lord William Campbell, one of the Argyll family, a gallant naval officer who had seen much service, used often to speak of Nelson to Mrs. Anne Seymour Damer, the accomplished sculptress. From

his description, as well as from her own admiration, she conceived quite an enthusiastic feeling towards the hero, and through her uncle's influence readily prevailed on him to sit to her for a bust; and this operation he went through "as often and as long" as she thought necessary. The bust was presented to the City of London, and placed in the Guildhall, where it may now be seen. It is a striking performance, exhibiting the *morne* gauntness which distinguished the face of Nelson.

The Duke of Clarence, who had long known Lord William Campbell in the course of his profession, and had been an admirer of his niece's talents, came to her with a request that she would give him a cast in plaster of Lord Nelson's bust. I have indeed heard from my friend Mr. Campbell Johnston, to whose family Mrs. Damer left all her busts and statues—a most interesting collection—that so eager was the Prince to possess this memorial that he took it away with him, placing it between his feet on the coach-box. Many years later, when he was Lord High Admiral, he came again, and, after kindly offering to provide for one of the family in the navy, asked her to execute the finest bronze bust she could, which he proposed to place on a pedestal formed out of the stump of the fore-mast of the *Victory*, which was at Bushey. Mrs. Damer was then nearly eighty years old, but she set herself resolutely to the task, and finished the bust only a few days before her death; but, not being able to present it, she left directions that her cousin, Mrs. Campbell Johnston, should do so, on which the Duke appointed a day for the ceremony, inviting the family to Bushey, where the bust was solemnly placed in its frame on the pedestal designed for it. There is a

pleasant earnestness and antique simplicity in this little incident, which does credit to all concerned.

The Duke of Clarence was thus allowed not to see any service, for some incomprehensible reason, but was employed on various showy duties, such as escorting the King of France on his restoration, and bringing over the Allied Sovereigns. He had been promoted to be Admiral of the Fleet during the first year of his brother's regency. Like his royal brothers he had received sundry pecuniary gifts in aid of his necessities; £20,000 from the convenient Admiralty Droits, and a sum of £30,000 by way of loan. By a singular arrangement he was to repay this sum in a certain number of years at the rate of £750 a quarter; but His Royal Highness had neglected to repay these instalments, and awkward questions were often asked in Parliament.

## CHAPTER VIII.

THE Duke thus unemployed found the only opening for his energies in frequent, perhaps too frequent, speeches in the House of Lords. These utterances were on all kinds of subjects, and he frequently reverted to his favourite subject of the slave trade, being ever ready to vindicate the planters. The worst of such exhibitions was that it drew him into rather undignified controversies, in which, as he abdicated the privileges of his rank, he was sometimes treated with scant ceremony. Such was the occasion of his warmly vindicating his friend Lord St. Vincent, asking was there to be an inquiry into his conduct? This he pressed so pertinaciously that the Chancellor gave him a rebuke, quitting his seat on the woolsack to do so. The Duke did not relish this tone, and retorted that the reason he was not answered was that the reply would be highly inconvenient to ministers. Later he twitted Lord Eldon with his too frequently finding excuse to leave the woolsack.

THE DUKE OF CLARENCE TO CAPTAIN WRIGHT.

"St. James's, December 15, 1801.

"DEAR SIR,

"You may well be surprised at my not having sooner acknowledged yours of 25th October. The fault

is really not mine, for my head servant at Bushey, who is none of the best, kept saying the case of noyau you were so polite as to send me had never arrived. It is only within these few days I have discovered his mistake, and it has been a long time in the cellar. I now, therefore, hasten to return you my thanks for this mark of your attention, and to regret the misconduct of my servant. I am very glad to hear my little godchild is doing so well; my best wishes and compliments attend the little gentleman and his fair mother. I hope the time will not be long before I shall be able to be of service to you; but with the present First Lord I cannot. Adieu, and ever believe me, dear sir,

“Yours sincerely,

“WILLIAM P.”

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

“Bushey House, December 15, 1803.

“DEAR SIR,

“I am to acknowledge yours of 5th instant, and return you my thanks for the pheasants. The easterly wind by this time, I suppose, has brought woodcocks.

“It has given me great concern to learn that Mrs. Wright has been dangerously indisposed; my best wishes and compliments attend her. Those who have children know if they are healthy they will be mischievous, and therefore your account of the young hopeful gives me pleasure.

“As for this rascal Bonaparte, I wish he was at the bottom of the sea. All naval officers think invasion impossible, and that is clearly my opinion; yet what else can this Corsican scoundrel do against this country? As you justly observe, it is very late to put his threats

in execution, and I hardly conceive this winter he will attempt it.

"The King's speech is very much to my liking, and I have no doubt if we are true to ourselves Great Britain must rise and France must fall. My best wishes and compliments attend you rather afloat than on shore, and I remain,

"Yours sincerely,

"WILLIAM P."

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

"Bushey House, Thursday night.

"DEAR SIR,

"I must acknowledge yours of 20th, and return you many thanks for your attention and politeness. Believe me, I should have been very much concerned that you should on my account have left home. As a farmer, I am well aware of the necessity of the presence of the master; but at this time of the year, when the harvest is going on, he ought not to be absent a minute, except half-an-hour at breakfast, and an hour to dinner. I never am out of the field the whole day. I am glad to find you are turned farmer. I believe officers of the navy make the best, as they are always active. Our crops are excellent, and I sincerely hope the distresses of the poor will now be alleviated. I have not for some time seen General Bauermeister, but I understand he is better. You are right, it is Colonel Dalrymple who has written the pamphlet on wheat; it will, I am sure, give you any explication you may wish. My best wishes and compliments attend your lady and my godson. I remain, dear sir, yours sincerely,

"WILLIAM P."

THE SAME TO THE SAME.\*

"Bushey House, April 22, 1803.

"DEAR SIR,

"I am to acknowledge yours of 13th instant, and lament the death of our good friend Bauermeister. The poor General sent me your official letter, which I forwarded to the Admiralty. No man can tell whether the sea officers are wanted or not, because we have to do with a madman ; but I cannot think it will blow over.

"My best wishes and compliments attend your lady, and from your letter I may say to her what is said to those on their trial, 'God give you a safe deliverance.' I am glad my young friend drinks wine after dinner, and shall be happy to see him and his parents. In the mean time adieu, and ever believe me, yours sincerely,

"WILLIAM P."

Some further letters show the same genuine sympathy with those whom he had made his friends.

DUKE OF CLARENCE TO CAPTAIN HARGOOD.

"Bushey House, Friday night.

"DEAR HARGOOD,

"I congratulate you from the bottom of my heart that you have at last had the opportunity of convincing your brother officers of those merits which I have long known you to possess. Everybody that had the honour and glory of sharing in the action speak and write in the highest terms of the *Belleisle* and her gallant commander. To me it is a matter of great satisfaction that my old shipmate is so well thought of. I hope to see you, that we may converse over the action,

\* For the above interesting letters the author is indebted to Mr. Wright, son of the officer to whom they were addressed.

and that I may be master of the subject. Besides, I must consider you as a child of my own, and we are to celebrate the victory here, which I have not yet done till you can be present. I wish another brave fellow could have witnessed our rejoicings, but he is gone. I mean my friend Nelson. You knew well my attachment and friendship for him, and you may therefore easily conceive what I must have felt, at the moment of the most brilliant victory, to lose my friend, covered with glory and entitled to the first honours of a grateful country. I did not think it was possible, but for one of my dearest relations, to have felt what I have, and what I do still, for poor Nelson. I shall now conclude, as I trust to see you shortly ; but I must request you will let me know the day, that we may arrange your reception. You cannot refuse the pleasure to several young ladies and gentlemen, who talk of nothing else but the brave Captain Hargood.

“Adieu ! and ever believe me, dear Hargood, your most sincerely,

“WILLIAM.”

A letter really charming for its native warmth, simplicity, and affection. It shows, too, better than anything else, how much the writer's heart was in his profession, and how eager he was to associate himself with all that concerned it. There is, moreover, an admirable revelation of character.

THE SAME TO SIR E. BERRY.

“DEAR SIR,

“April 2, 1806.

“Your letter of 15th last November reached me, of course, and by some accident has been mislaid ; since which public affairs and indisposition have kept me

silent. But yours from St. Domingo brought Trafalgar back to my mind, and I now therefore take up my pen to congratulate you on being safe after two such actions. Many and brave men fell on 23rd October, and the success was brilliant, but the country has to lament her hero, and through life I cannot forget my friend. In this last action everything has been done that discipline, valour, and zeal could ; and it is a real pleasure to me that wherever our navy is employed, the brave fellows go to certain victory. I congratulate you most heartily on being quite well after two such actions, and hope you will be in many more, and enjoy in them all the same good fortune, both publicly and privately, as you have off Cadiz and St. Domingo. Ever yours,

"WILLIAM."

During this early period of his life the Duke had formed a connection with a well-known actress, Mrs. Jordan, which was continued for many years, and by whom he had a very large family—no less than four sons and five daughters. There is no need to do more than to chronicle the fact, as the subject is a distasteful one, and that on their separating after more than twenty years, much odium and abuse was incurred by the Duke.\*

\* There was a long and large controversy between the friends of the lady and of the Duke as to his treatment on their separation. This will be found discussed at length in Mr. Wright's "Life of William IV.", and in Sir J. Barrington's "Memoirs," who was her warm partisan. It is certain that a fair provision was made for her and her children ; but as she was foolish enough to involve herself in debts and liabilities for others, owing to which she was driven abroad to die in miserable circumstances, this imparted a tragic interest to her fate, and was unfairly set down to the account of her royal protector. There was certainly a painful contrast between the brilliant alliances and flourishing careers of all her children and the lot of their luckless mother.

This was said to have been owing to one of the many eccentric schemes of the Duke for marrying an heiress, and which required the united efforts of his family and of the Ministers to frustrate. But as this present work is intended to illustrate the social life and manners of the day, I cannot omit an account of an extraordinary scene or festival at the Duke's, which seems to have been accepted as quite a matter of course, and really makes us open our eyes with amazement. The description appeared in *The Courier*:

"The Duke of Clarence's birthday was celebrated with much splendour in Bushey Park, on Thursday. The grand hall was entirely new fitted up with bronze pilasters, and various marble imitations; the ceiling was correctly clouded, and the whole illuminated with some brilliant patent lamps suspended from a beautiful eagle. The pleasure-ground was disposed for the occasion, and the servants had new liveries. In the morning the bands of the Dukes of York and Kent arrived in caravans; after dressing themselves, and dining, they went into the pleasure-grounds, and played alternately some charming pieces. About five o'clock the Prince of Wales, the Dukes of York, Kent, Sussex, and Cambridge, Colonel Paget, &c., arrived from reviewing the German Legion. After they had dressed for dinner, they walked in the pleasure-grounds, accompanied by the Lord Chancellor, Earl and Countess of Athlone and daughter, Lord Leicester, Baron Hotham and lady, Baron Eden, the Attorney-General, Colonels Paget and M'Millon, Serjeant Marshall, and a number of other persons. At seven o'clock, the second bell announced the dinner, when the Prince took Mrs. Jordan by the hand, led her into the dining-room, and seated her at the top of the table.

The Prince took his seat at her right hand, and the Duke of York at her left; the Duke of Cambridge sat next to the Prince, the Duke of Kent next to the Duke of York, and the Chancellor next to His Royal Highness. The Duke of Clarence sat at the foot of the table.

"It is hardly necessary to state the table was sumptuously covered with everything the season could afford. The bands played on the lawn, close to the dining-room window. The populace were permitted to enter the pleasure-grounds to behold the royal banquet, while the presence of Messrs. Townshend, Sayers, and Macmanu preserved the most correct decorum.

"The Duke's numerous family were introduced, and admired by the Prince, the Royal Dukes, and the whole company; an infant in arms, with a most beautiful white head of hair, was brought into the dining-room by the nursery-maid. After dinner, the Prince gave 'The Duke of Clarence,' which was drunk with three times three; The Duke then gave 'The King,' which was drunk in a solemn manner. A discharge of cannon from the lawn followed. 'The Queen and Princesses,'—'The Duke of York and the Army!' His Royal Highness's band struck up his *celebrated march!*"

In the year 1814, we find the Duke setting off to witness some British operations in Holland under Sir T. Graham. But Carnot, the engineer, had contrived to make Antwerp perfectly secure, and the Duke had only to record the failure of the attack, in a letter to Prince Munich.

THE DUKE OF CLARENCE TO LORD LIVERPOOL.

"British Headquarters, February 6, 1814.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"I was so suddenly called away by Sir Thomas Graham that it was not in my power at the time to

inform your lordship. I must ever regret the fleet was not burnt ; but at the same time the ships, without the greatest repairs, will never be able to put to sea. Two entire days and part of a third were dedicated to the most perfect and unmolested practice of our artillery against the ships and buildings. We ought to have been crowned with success, for every exertion was made, and all ranks tried who could most do their duty ; our loss, thank God, has been but small ; and Sir Thomas Graham did all in his power, and was well seconded by those under him. Being, therefore, perfectly satisfied with the Commander-in-Chief and his gallant officers and men, I remain with the British army on the march, and shall continue with them at least four-and-twenty hours after they are in their permanent quarters. Before I return to the Hague I shall pay a visit to the Duke of Saxe Weimar, if he is at Breda. I shall, however, write as circumstances arise, and, if anything should prevent my returning to the Hague directly, you shall hear from me ; but I am determined to proceed to those places only where my reception is secure and proper.

“ Adieu, and ever believe me, my dear lord,

“ Yours sincerely,

“ WILLIAM.”

## CHAPTER IX.

WE now pass over a number of unsuccessful and monotonous years. The death of the ill-fated and beloved Princess Charlotte, in 1817, was destined to have an important bearing on the condition of the Royal brothers. This tragic event found the Queen and her family, with the Duke of Clarence, down at Bath, "drinking the waters," and enjoying those local festivities which this visit prompted. The Duke's health was never good; all his life he suffered much from asthma. He had been attacked by gout and an affection of the stomach, and it was determined that he and the Queen should spend the winter in that gay and handsome city, which has since sadly declined in popularity. Three houses were taken for the Royal party. The news, which reached the Queen while she was at dinner, threw her into a succession of fainting fits. The Duke was at the Guildhall, dining with the Mayor and Corporation, when a despatch was brought in to Sir Henry Halford, by whom it was handed to the Duke of Clarence, and he rose in much agitation and withdrew. In "faltering tones" Lord Camden proposed breaking up the entertainment, and all retired in silence. After the funeral the Royal party returned to Bath to complete the "cure."

The Royal Princes were now restored to the chance

of a direct succession, and began to consider their position. The Duke of York, who was next heir, was childless. The Duke of Clarence, who came next, was unmarried. The Duke of Cambridge came next, who was also unmarried. By April, 1818, the two Princes had selected consorts; the first, "Amelia Adelaide Louise Therese Caroline Wilhelmina, Princess of Saxe Meiningen;" the second, a Princess of Hesse. Princess Adelaide was twenty-six years old, and not remarkable for personal attractions, but she had been brought up simply and strictly by an excellent mother in every branch of polite and useful learning. From earliest childhood, the Princess Adelaide, in particular, was remarkable for her sedate disposition, and rather reserved habits. The greatest portion of her time, it is said, was devoted to her studies; and though perfectly cheerful with her intimate companions, she took little pleasure in the gaieties and frivolities of fashion. Even when arrived at more mature years, she manifested a strong dislike to that laxity of morals, and contempt for religious feeling, which had sprung out of the French Revolution, and infected all the courts in Germany. This excellent selection was, it is said, the suggestion of the Queen.

When these alliances had been arranged, the necessary step of "making suitable provision" for their support was taken. In April Lord Liverpool brought the matter before the House of Lords, saying that they had originally intended an annuity of £20,000 for the Duke of Clarence, and £12,000 for the Duke of Cambridge. The same was suggested for the Duke of Cumberland, Lord Liverpool rather ominously announcing that "he knew of nothing in the conduct of the Duke of Cumberland or his wife that subjected them to the

stigma of such an allowance being refused to them." The Duke of Gloucester having already a handsome allowance of nearly £30,000 a year, did not judge it necessary, or perhaps prudent, to ask for more. The Duke of Clarence would, he said, be quite content with £10,000 a year, and the two Dukes with £6000 a year.

In the House of Commons, however, these proposals met with unexpected hostility and opposition, and, after a warm debate, during which it was stated that the Duke of Clarence was in debt to the amount of £50,000 or £60,000, and a sum of £30,000 granted now would free him from embarrassment, an amendment was carried reducing the allowance to £6000 a year. This was only passed by a narrow majority of nine; on which the Duke of Clarence made the extraordinary announcement that he could not afford to marry on such a sum, and that the negotiation with the German Princess was at an end. This announcement was made in pique, and indeed had an air of absurdity, as such a marriage could hardly be dependent on so slight a sum as £4000 per annum. The House was in a very angry temper, and positively declined to grant any sum whatever to the Duke of Cumberland, though it was willing to allow the Duchess a dowry of £6000 a year, which the lady declined. A heated discussion took place on the grant to the Duke of Cambridge, led by Mr. Brougham, who pointed out that he already enjoyed £18,000 a year, "besides free lodgings and a free table," to say nothing of £6000 a year as Regent of Hanover. He suggested that the Royal Family should provide for their son. However, the vote was carried. The Duke of Clarence, meanwhile, on consulting with his friends, thought it wiser to reconsider the case, and the German Princess was

informed that her marriage should go on. There was another marriage also on the *tapis*, as it is called, that of the Duke of Kent with the sister of Prince Leopold. The Queen was now dying, and could not attend any serious public ceremonial; so a room was fitted up in Kew Palace overlooking the gardens, and there, on July 13th, the Duke of Kent and his wife were married according to the English rite, having been married in Germany a few weeks before, and the Duke of Clarence\* and his bride were then united. Two weeks before the Duke of Cambridge and his Princess had been also wedded at Kew. The marriage of the Princess Elizabeth with the Landgrave of Homburg, which had taken place a month before, completed this unprecedented series of weddings in a single family.

Both the brides were given away by the Prince Regent, after which they knelt with their partners before the Queen, who gave them her blessing, and then retired into the adjoining room, being too feeble to remain with the company. At five o'clock, the Prince Regent, the rest of his relatives and friends, sat down to a most sumptuous dinner, which lasted till seven; and about half an hour afterwards, the Duke and Duchess of Kent departed for Claremont. The Regent and the remaining Royal party then proceeded in open carriages to the Cottage in Kew Gardens, near the Pagoda, where they drank tea, after which, the Duke and Duchess of Clarence, with the Dowager of Meiningen, left the Palace for the house of His Royal Highness at St. James's. The Duke

\* The Duke of Clarence and his family were not indifferently provided for. He enjoyed these pensions: By 43 Geo. III., cap. 45, £6000; by 58 Geo. III., cap. 53, £17,500; by 1 & 2 Geo. IV., cap. 119, £6000; and 7 & 8 Geo. IV., cap. 110, £3000; while the Duchess of Clarence had £6000: total, £38,500.

and Duchess of Clarence took a final leave of the Queen in a few days after their marriage, and proceeded to the Continent. Before the end of the year the Queen, who during her long life had seen so many changes and endured such troubles, expired.

In the following year the two august ladies, within a day of each other, presented their respective husbands—the Duchess of Cambridge with a son, at Hanover, on March 26th, the Duchess of Clarence with a daughter, on March 27th. The latter, however, survived only a few hours, being named Charlotte. The Duchess of Clarence's health was much affected, and she was ordered to travel.

In June, 1822, the Duke and Duchess set off on a tour through Germany. They brought with them a very intelligent physician, Dr. Beattie,\* who has left some notes of their progress. The Royal pair proceeded by way of Belgium to Homburg to see the Duke's sister.

"During the eight days' journey to this country," says Dr. Beattie, "His Royal Highness has not dined more than twice. He breakfasted in the morning at seven upon tea, and a simple slice of dry toast. A slight luncheon, consisting of cold fowl, Westphalia ham, veal or *gibier* (the latter a favourite viand), was prepared, and put into a small basket in the chariot. One or more of these, with bread, formed the staple banquet of the day, and were resorted to at pleasure. At night, on arriving at the inn, His Royal Highness took tea—and *only green tea*—of which a supply was

\* This gentleman later became one of Lady Blessington's train, and contributed largely to her annuals. But he is perhaps better known by a rather indifferent life of the Poet Campbell. The reader will certainly be entertained by the rapturous devotions of this worthy physician and true courtier. We can indeed call to mind nothing like it, the "only green tea" being an admirable touch.

brought from Ghent. This summed up the day's entertainment. However late the hour, or potent the infusion, the beverage, I understand, never interferes with His Royal Highness's rest. Such is the power of long habit.

"No man can be more attentive and anxious to limit and reduce his expenditure as much as is possible, or consistent with his exalted station, than His Royal Highness. He looks over all the accounts himself, sums up, calculates, adjusts, and compares, nicely balancing every item. When the first account of the expenditure from England to Altenstein was given in, he examined it for half an hour with great attention, and expressed much surprise at the smallness of the amount. 'I advise you to take it back, and recalculate the items. It is impossible that I can have travelled from Antwerp to Altenstein for this sum! How many miles is it? I observe here it is specified in stages: nine days from the coast—fifteen persons—sixteen horses—three carriages, estafette included—one horse being charged for each person.'"

On the 24th of July, the Duke of Clarence set out to visit his sister, the Queen of Wurtemberg, at Stuttgart. Next day, he had a narrow escape of his life. At Kungelsau, where the carriage stopped to change horses, the postilion appeared to be drunk, but there was no other in the place; so "away," says the Doctor, "we went, as if drawn by the devil, and driven by an attorney. The road was good, confined between two hedges, and rising in a gentle acclivity, which was speedily overcome. Our postilion, suiting the word to the action, administered his mettled steeds with an alternate kick, and crack of the whip, which carried us in quick time to the top of the ascent.

" So far, well. Here began another experiment, the descent—much too rapid and slippery to be safe. The road was bordered by a rugged precipice, and turned, at the foot of the descent, by a sharp angle to the left, which to have described, at this our present rate, must have been attended with imminent hazard. Crossing also the road at right angles, there was a second precipice, defended only by a slight parapet of two feet high. The danger was, that the sudden check which must be given to the carriage, in order to turn the angle safely, might be so sudden, as to overbalance it; or that the horses, either incapable of opposing sufficient resistance, or becoming unmanageable, it might be hurried over the precipice. The latter seemed the more probable, and one or other inevitable, at the time. The postilion, however, continued his career, every moment accelerated by the increased momentum. It was abundantly evident that he had no power. He made use of every exertion, but in vain, to check the velocity with which he was proceeding. He had by no means calculated the weight of the carriage. His leaders, as usual, had neither bit nor rein; so that he had no command over them, but, instead of driving, was dragged after them. The danger was at its height. The precipice, upon which we were rushing, suddenly appeared. The feeling it excited was like that of the boatman who feels himself hurried irresistibly towards the cataract of Rheinfelden. Though momentary, it left an impression of all that is sublime in fear. The leaders touched the parapet; the wheelers, by a momentary and desperate manœuvre, were thrown on their haunches, almost under the body of the carriage. They offered all the resistance which living muscle and wretched harness could oppose in such an emergency.

The effort succeeded. The leaders bolted instinctively from the precipice. The carriage reeled for a moment—the wheelers sprang to their legs—the danger was over—but an instance of more imminent danger is of rare occurrence."

On the 1st of September, the Duke and his royal consort left Meiningen for Heidelberg, where they were met three days afterwards by the Queen of Wurtemberg, to whom the Duke of Meiningen was now introduced for the first time. Her Majesty and the Duchess of Clarence had met on a former visit to this country. At Heidelberg the Queen entertained her guests with some excursions.

It is well known that George III. had a tenacious memory, and some extraordinary instances are recorded of his recollection of persons and circumstances after very long intervals of time. It appears that the same faculty was common to all his children. In connection with this, Dr. Beattie says in his journal : "The Queen of Wurtemberg is not less gifted with a faithful memory than her royal brother. In conversing upon the many pleasing topics which early reminiscences supply, there was one here to-day, respecting their favourite Kew. Both agreed as to the year, the month, and the day, upon which the circumstance in question took place : the hour alone was left undecided. This might appear unimportant to any one not accustomed to place implicit reliance upon this faculty ; but with these royal personages, the memory is almost an infallible book of reference."

The reflection suggested in these travelling chronicles is that the Doctor was a man of a rather *banal* turn of mind, and, as this last "little anecdote" shows, inclined to be fittingly and awfully impressed by his

august companions. On embarking at Antwerp on August 21st to return home, our Doctor sums up the happy results.

"It is pleasing to reflect that during a journey of such length and variety, through the less frequented circles of Germany, neither hurt nor accident has occurred to anyone. His Royal Highness has derived essential benefit from the tour. His confirmed state of health is a topic of frequent remark with himself, and of gratifying observation with others. Air and exercise, in their due time, place, and proportion, seldom fail in imparting strength and stability to the constitution. In the economy of health, they are of the first-rate importance. There is probably no country in Europe where they will be productive of more certain pleasure and advantage than in the provinces of the Rhine."

In March, 1825, the Duke and Duchess once more embarked, on this occasion aboard the "Royal Comet Steamer." The Duke always disliked ceremony, and was perhaps not sorry to escape from the inconvenient attendance of an escort of ships, &c. A few days later, when he set off abruptly and took passage with his Duchess on board the common steamer to Dieppe, he little thought that there was one in office and authority who would take care that the proper etiquette was not violated. He already had had disagreeable experience of this stern monitor.

By no one was the Duke of Clarence better "kept in order," as it is called, than by the Duke of Wellington, whose watchful eye was on his movements, and in a stern but respectful manner would point out the fault and require alteration in conduct. Thus, in September, 1829, when he learned that His Royal Highness, with the Duchess, had set off by an ordinary packet for

Dieppe, against all order and rules of State, the Duke at once despatched a reproof, and supplicd a remedy.

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE DUKE OF CLARENCE.

28th September, 1829.

"SIR,

" Having perused in the newspapers of this morning that your Royal Highness and Her Royal Highness the Duchess had gone to Dieppe in the steam-packet, and having inquired at the Admiralty I found that there had been no intimation of your Royal Highness's intention to go abroad, I conclude that your Royal Highness did not give this intimation because you thought that your employing one of His Majesty's yachts or steam-vessels might be inconvenient to the public service. I am certain, however, that your Royal Highness will feel that it is not fit that Her Royal Highness the Duchess should be in a French port otherwise than properly attended by one of His Majesty's yachts, although your Royal Highness personally, as an officer, may do as you please ; and your Royal Highness will not be surprised that the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty should have sent over to attend your Royal Highness the Admiralty yacht and one of His Majesty's steam-vessels, as soon as it was made known to them that your Royal Highness had left England. I have the honour, &c.,

" WELLINGTON."

This was treating him almost like a youth ; and the erratic Prince must have been sorely annoyed at finding the English ships sent to wait on him at Dieppe.

The occasion of the present tour was the marriage of the Grand Duke of Meiningen, which was to be

celebrated at Cassel "with great demonstrations of joy." The Duke's two daughters were of the party, together with the recording Doctor (who was indeed working his observations into a "Journal of a Residence in Germany," in two volumes octavo).

On the young ladies the Doctor observes: "As a father, His Royal Highness might serve as a model to every parent in the British empire. Unremitting attention to their intellectual improvement, unwearied solicitude for their personal comfort and welfare, and an affection limited only by the dictates of prudence and good sense, give him at once a title to the affection of his family, and to the approbation of every observer.

"On attending the Duke in his private apartment, I every morning make my report respecting their health. A fortnight ago, Miss Amelia caught cold, followed by symptoms of a nature that demanded prompt and decisive treatment. During the interval, His Royal Highness visited her at a distance from the chateau, four or five times a day; always suggesting something to engage and divert her attention. She has been able to resume her usual exercise this afternoon, which has afforded the greatest satisfaction."

Among the domestics and dependants was "an aged African," to whom the Duke was very kind, and of whose feeling, in return, Dr. Beattie relates this anecdote.

"Poor old Henri! wherever I meet him, he expresses his gratitude both loud and long. 'O pless His Highness! pless him! What you tink his Highness give me?—pless him. What you tink?' 'I don't know, indeed, Henri; but here is something more, which you may count over at your leisure; it has a pleasant clink.'

"Poor Henri's fluency of speech was suddenly

stopped. He could not even repeat *pless him!* but instantly burst into tears—which said more."

Here the Duke and his family took up their residence at the *Chateau-d-quatre-tours*.

" Unless when engaged with important business or company, His Royal Highness observes the same punctuality in his hours of retiring and getting up, that he does in the public and private duties of his station. Eleven o'clock is the hour at which he generally retires. At seven in the morning he is dressed ; and, when the weather permits, walks in the avenue or gardens till eight, or later.

" When the letters are finished, and enclosed to the *chargé d'affaires* at Frankfort, His Royal Highness walks till dinner time ; then comes in, dresses, and proceeds to the drawing-room. He does everything by system. His walks, which have occasionally extended to four, are very seldom less than two hours' duration, and generally taken at the hottest period of the day. When prevented by the state of the weather from indulging in out-door exercise, His Royal Highness uses the large drawing-room as a substitute, with one or more windows thrown open, so as to afford the best means of counter-acting the effects of temporary confinement.

" In travelling, whenever the carriages halt at a fresh relay, it is his custom to alight, and employ the interval, though only five minutes, in exercise. In wet or damp weather, he never ventures abroad, not even in the carriage, without adopting the precaution of wearing galoches.

" In diet here, as in England, His Royal Highness observes a strict regimen,—plain roast or boiled mutton to dinner : such George III. preferred. Sherry is his favourite and I may say, only wine. I never saw him

taste port; and seldom French or Rhenish wines. He rarely eats roots or vegetables, not even a potato. The only beverage in which he indulges an innocent freedom, is barley-water flavoured with lemon."

While at Ems, the Duke was attacked by his asthma, of his sufferings under which trial Dr. Beattie gives this account.

"His Royal Highness, as a patient, takes freely whatever is prescribed, and with that measure of confidence which is always gratifying to the physician, and, in certain cases, contributes not a little to accelerate the cure. During his present illness, I am usually asked about what hour the attack will subside. To such questions, the answer must be more or less hazardous—yet they must be answered. Last night, the spasm was protracted nearly an hour beyond the time predicted. 'Well, Doctor, you thought this fit would abate by nine o'clock; now, you observe, it is near ten. Well, well, it can't be helped.' This said, he became perfectly calm. The paroxysm abated so far, that he was able to retire to bed, and enjoy some hours of refreshing sleep."

"The right of interrogation," adds the Doctor, who furnishes all particulars, "has been duly exercised by His Royal Highness during the attack. When administering the different medicines suggested by the symptoms present, he has generally desired me to explain to him, 'why exhibited in this or that form; how, why, and with what combined; their nature, properties, and the indications they were intended to fulfil.' These were questions, which, at times, I felt difficulty, often delicacy, in answering. To one of them he was pleased to add the following compliment:—'I will do you the justice to say, that, although a young physician, the medicines you have given me during my illness have

fully answered the purpose intended. I have not got so easily over it for many years."

Soon after his recovery, in the middle of July, the Duke went to visit the Queen of Wurtemberg at Deinach, her summer residence in the Black Forest. In this tour, we are told, a *pleasing incident* occurred.

"On the heights of Mergentheim," says the Doctor, "there is an isolated linden-tree by the roadside—one of the forest outposts, inviting the traveller to admire its stately growth, and, if he please, refresh himself under its shade. The morning was very hot, and the ascent from Mergentheim laborious. Halting at this point, to allow the postilion time to repair his harness and light a fresh pipe, His Royal Highness was so much struck with the landscape, that he alighted, had the luncheon spread upon the soft moss under the tree, and enjoyed at once a kingly repast and a kingly prospect. The former consisted of cold fowl, *gibier piqué au lard*, a bottle of Volnay, bread, and barley-water; the latter comprised towns, terraced hills, forests, flocks, vineyards, and their villages. At this elevated point, the air was peculiarly balmy and invigorating, and, so to speak, spiritual. His Royal Highness, during the journey, has repeatedly mentioned the agreeable surprise this halt at noon afforded him. The tree may one day, perhaps, obtain the flattering designation of 'The King's Tree.'"

"These early hours," says Dr. Beattie, "in conjunction with daily exercise and the salubrious air in which that exercise is taken, have contributed most materially to benefit His Royal Highness's health. He is at this moment as vigorous as if he had not passed the age of forty. In proof of this, he has on various occasions

been several hours a-foot, without experiencing anything like exhaustion or even fatigue."

Finally the Duke and Duchess of Clarence took leave of their German friends, and proceeded to Antwerp, where the royal yacht was waiting for them; and on board of which a gala dinner was given to the King of Prussia, the King and Queen of the Netherlands, and a number of others, to the amount of one hundred persons of the first distinction.

The next morning, the royal yacht, towed by the Comet steamer, fell down the Scheldt to Flushing; and on the ensuing day got under weigh, with a fresh breeze at the north-west, for the Thames, which it was supposed they would enter in a few hours. The Flushing pilot, however, predicted a storm; and the prophecy was fulfilled. In less than two hours after leaving the Scheldt, the wind blew a hurricane, and the sea ran mountains high, insomuch that the steamer which had the yacht in tow could not hold, and the vessels separated. Upon this, the yacht bore away for Yarmouth Roads, which she fortunately reached the next day, and landed the royal party, who set off for London. Meanwhile, the Comet steered for the Downs, and, after narrowly escaping the Goodwin Sands, entered Ramsgate without any accident.

## CHAPTER X.

A.D. 1826 TO 1827.

AGAIN, in 1826, the Duke and Duchess of Clarence set out for the Continent, and proceeded through Flanders to their former residence near the baths of Ems. In June the Duke had a very severe visitation from his old asthmatic disorder. "During this attack," says Dr. Beattie, "I have very seldom left him even for an hour. I have watched, as on a former occasion, six nights in succession. I have seen him under the pressure of much personal suffering, exhausted by a series of spasmodic attacks, surprised by their sudden accession, or unexpected recurrence; but I have never seen him lose his temper, or self-possession. The perfect composure with which he waits the result, is a lesson in practical philosophy, which it is edifying to observe, and pleasing to commemorate."

On the conversational powers of his illustrious patron, the same gentleman has the following observations and anecdote.

"I am often surprised at the facility which His Royal Highness evinces in conversing upon a variety of topics, which might be thought entirely foreign to the natural channel of his thoughts and pursuits. I uni-

formly remark, that with whomsoever he enters into conversation, he accommodates himself to the topic in which that individual is known, or supposed, to take most interest, and upon which he may be more easily drawn out. With the soldier he discusses the merits of the last campaign, or enters into a dissertation upon military tactics—with the senator, some popular question of the Cabinets. With respect to one subject, wherewith the glory of England is so interwoven, I repeat the words of a distinguished admiral who dined here : ‘ I am astonished,’ said he, ‘ at the thorough knowledge which His Royal Highness retains of naval affairs ; so minute, and laid down in such accurate detail, I was quite taken by surprise. I had often heard of the Duke’s excellent memory, but confess I was not prepared to find it exemplified by such instances as you heard to-day. I had, myself, hardly any distinct recollection of the lieutenant, but His Royal Highness remembers every officer of the ship ; and not their names only, but their family. This must be little less than forty-five years ago.’ ”

“ On post-days, His Royal Highness generally employs from two to three hours in correspondence. The method of answering all letters by autograph is habitual, and always appears to afford him satisfaction. Upon my making some observation during his late attack, to induce him to limit his application on this head, His Royal Highness replied, ‘ I admit the propriety of your suggestion, but I must keep up the practice of letter-writing—I have always done so—and one day or other, I may have still more occasion for it.’ ”

Speaking of another characteristic feature of his illustrious patron, the Doctor says :

“ In expressing his opinion of men and things, the

Duke is always frank and explicit. Whatever be the subject upon which he chooses to communicate his sentiments, they are invariably followed by a statement of the premises from which his conclusions are drawn. For example, 'This is my opinion ; and I'll tell you why'—or, 'There I differ from you ; and I will give you my reasons.'

On the 10th of July, the party arrived at Schwalbach, after encountering a tremendous storm of thunder, lightning, and rain, which flooded the roads, and nearly blinded the horses and their drivers. The horizon was so darkened, and the wind increased to such a degree, that great fears were excited lest the carriages should be precipitated into the deep ravines which flanked the road in every direction. Fortunately, no accident occurred, and at Schwalbach their Royal Highnesses were welcomed by a party of minstrels, who had travelled one hundred and fifty miles from Meiningen, on purpose to greet their beloved Princess.

The Duke of Clarence and his family having now spent four months in visiting their friends, and making several excursions throughout Germany, prepared to return. They left Altenstein, for the purpose of visiting the Landgrave of Hesse Rothenbourg at Wildeck. Here, we are told, a considerable number of French emigrants found shelter during the long and eventful period of the Revolution. "The generous disposition of the Landgrave was exerted to the utmost on their behalf ; and those whom he could not restore to their country, he admitted to his society, and supported by his bounty. Among other peculiarities, His Serene Highness had at this time upwards of three hundred parrots, comprising every known variety of the species ; or, at least, all

that could be procured from different countries, and capable of being reared in a climate to which they were not used."

This long and last Continental tour terminated at Calais, on the 30th of September, without any serious mischance; and on the following day, the royal party and their suite landed safe at Dover.

Our enthusiastic Doctor sees merit in every detail, even in the posting arrangements.

"On alighting at the hotel at night," he says, "it was the rule to make every arrangement for the expedition of the party *en route*, and their comfortable reception at the inn the following day.

"To secure these important objects, I wrote a letter to the master of the hotel, where their Royal Highnesses proposed to dine and sleep the night ensuing. This letter contained a statement of the number of the suite, arrangements for the first, second, and third apartments, chambers, and beds. The dinner ordered for each table was restricted to a fixed price; that of wines, and apartments for the night, was left to the discretion of the landlord. To these particulars was added the hour at which the party would take the road in the morning; so that the landlord could calculate the exact time at which, barring accidents, his welcome visitors would honour his table.

"This quiet and unostentatious way of travelling adopted by their Royal Highnesses, afforded them so much satisfaction in respect to comfort and expedition, that it was invariably employed on all occasions. On alighting at Calais, the Duke, in alluding to this circumstance, 'felt persuaded,' he said, 'that, in these extensive journeys, he had never been delayed ten minutes on the road by want of horses.'"

So early as 1823 the Duke of Clarence had been looking to the succession. As some one noted, "The Duke runs about announcing his speedy accession to the throne." Lord Campbell saw a letter of his to a parson who was asking his interest at court : " My dear sir, I made an application in your favour but, as usual, I am refused. However, you will not have to wait long, yours truly." He called on this clergyman next day and said : " The king cannot last long, and poor Frederick is in a bad way."

The death of the Duke of York on Jan. 5th, 1827, was to make an important change in the position of the Duke of Clarence, who now became heir to the throne. Hitherto he had attracted little attention from the public, being known as a blunt and perhaps eccentric seaman. But it will be seen that this alteration in his position developed a sense of responsibility exhibited in a rather grotesque fashion. This sense seemed to develop in a most unfortunate way, as the moment of his coming to power drew nearer, until it culminated in those royal extravagances which have been recorded by Mr. Greville. These again subsided as he grew accustomed to his high office ; but while they lasted they seem difficult to account for in any way but that of some temporary aberration of intellect.

This change in his position brought him an immediate increase of income, £3000 a year being voted to him by Parliament, and an addition of £6000 a year being made to the Duchess's dowry.

In politics, it must be said, he had the merit of being ever consistent, and in spite of many temptations, which his eldest brother could not resist, he was always a steady Whig and " stuck to his principles." To the cause of Catholic Emancipation he was a steady adherent, and in

the final debate, he made a sound, sensible speech, not without force.

He began by saying, "that he rose in consequence of an expression that had fallen from his noble friend who had just sat down. His noble friend had said, that His Majesty's ministers were unanimous on this question, and that those who had been generally opposed to it, had become its advocates. It was this observation which called on him to address their lordships on this occasion, which was nearly connected with the internal state of Ireland, rather than in the petitions of those who appeared to know little or nothing about the situation of that country. It was remarked by his noble friend, that His Majesty's ministers were now unanimous on a question relative to which they were hitherto divided. He wished to God that His Majesty's ministers had been unanimous on that question long ago ; or, he rather wished, that an united administration could have been formed in 1804, for the purpose of carrying this measure, for, from that hour to the present, his opinion had invariably been, that what was falsely called concession, ought to have been resorted to. He said 'falsely called concession,' because he maintained that what was asked for, was not concession ; it was merely an act of justice, to raise the Roman Catholics from their present state of degradation. It was that, and nothing more. And when an Act was passed for that purpose, he would pledge his life that it would have the effect of uniting and quieting eight millions of His Majesty's subjects. Now he was on his legs, he would state his opinions as shortly as he could, reserving to himself the right to support the noble Duke and his colleagues, when he saw them so unjustly and infamously attacked. If His Majesty's ministers, fortunately for

the good of their sovereign and of their country, were at length united with reference to a measure of such great consequence, he did, from the bottom of his heart, thank the noble Duke for having effected such an union; and he would support, as he ought, a measure which he most deeply and decidedly believed to be favourable to the best interests of the country. For forty years he had enjoyed the honour of a seat in that House, and during that time, he trusted in God that he had never given a vote at which he need blush; but unquestionably he never had given a vote with so much pleasure and satisfaction as he should feel in supporting the contemplated measure. He congratulated all Europe on His Majesty's conduct in recommending this subject to the consideration of Parliament. He did so, because every man who had common sense must see that the settlement of this question would be beneficial to the interests of England; and he would maintain that the interests of Europe were closely connected with the interests and prosperity of England. Everything which operated to the preservation and security of British interests, operated also to the benefit of the general interests of Europe. He looked upon the measure which was about to be proposed, as one of the most important for this country that could possibly be conceived. He was happy that the noble Duke was selected by His Majesty to effect this great object. He rejoiced to find him placed in his present situation; and so long as he acted as his colleagues had hitherto done, so long should the noble Duke and His Majesty's ministers have his hearty vote. When he thought it was right to tender his resignation, which His Majesty was graciously pleased to accept, he, in the only conversation he ever had with the noble and learned

lord on the woolsack (Lyndhurst), told him that he never would join in a factious opposition to ministers, but that on the contrary, he should feel it to be his bounden duty to give them his support, when their measures appeared to be calculated for the benefit of the empire; and he trusted that no action of his had belied the declaration. Nothing but the absolute conviction of the important crisis at which the country had arrived, and a strong desire to support the administration, could have induced him to come forward on this occasion. The noble Duke and his colleagues had acted openly, boldly, firmly, and valiantly, and he thought it but an act of justice, thus publicly before God and man, to declare his sentiments with respect to their conduct. Professionally educated as he had been, it had fallen to his lot to have visited Ireland; and he should be the most ungrateful of men, if he forgot the reception he had there met with. During all his experience, he could bear testimony to the character, the energy, the bravery, and the thorough good humour, of Irishmen. If the venerable Duncan, who gained immortal fame by his victorious action with the Dutch, but who had served his country more by the energy and discipline with which he kept his fleet at sea at the time of the mutiny at the Nore, were in existence—if Earl St. Vincent, whose blockade of Cadiz reflected the highest honour on him, were living—or if one, who was more dear to him than any other officer in the service, he meant the great Nelson, the hero of Trafalgar, were in being—would they not hold up their heads in admiration, and say, that the dawn of peace, and happiness, and tranquillity in Ireland, had arrived; that justice was, at length, about to be done to the country of those men who had been fighting the battles of the empire on the lower

decks of the ships which they commanded ? Sure he was, that the service of the Irish Catholics could not be forgotten by the Duke of Wellington—that their bravery, valour, and devotion, in fighting the battles of this country, could never leave his recollection ; and their deeds must have been present to his mind, when he advised his sovereign, with so much honour to himself, and with such advantage to the empire, graciously to recommend their claims to the serious consideration of the Legialature. For his own part, His Royal Highness said, that he had differed with the noble Duke on one particular occasion, but that this difference should never alter his opinion as to what he had already done, or as to the great service which he was now rendering to his sovereign and the State. He recollect ed all the achievements of the noble Duke, and the victories which he had won for his country from the period when he led on the first battalion at the storming of Seringapatam, down to the glorious day of Waterloo—that day, which for a length of time had closed the horoscope of Europe. The noble Duke was a soldier ; and when he bore in mind the regiments which fought under his command, he must consider that he was now only discharging a debt of gratitude which, as a soldier, he owed to those brave and gallant men, who had achieved his victories, and contributed to raise him to his present exalted situation. The noble Duke had brought forward the question when he possessed the full power to carry it—it was recommended in the speech from the throne ; and it was announced at length from such high authority, that the thing could be done with perfect safety to the country ; and it was his firm conviction, that it could be so done, not only consistently with the safety of the country, but to its future security and advantage. At

present he had no more to say, but he trusted he had said enough to convince their lordships and the country, that he seriously intended to give his cordial support to those just measures of relief in favour of His Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects. He should have, perhaps, a great deal more to say, when the subject came fully and regularly before their lordships. It was a question which he had long turned in his mind, and which he believed he had considered in every direction, and under every point of view in which it could possibly be considered; and his settled opinion on the subject, for many years, was that to which he had now given utterance. Here, it might be asked, if such had been his opinion, why had he not stated it earlier, in some of the numerous discussions which had taken place on the question? In answer he could simply reply, because the measure had not been made a Government measure. He felt no hesitation in calling on their lordships to look to his public conduct during the forty years that he had enjoyed the honour of a seat in that House; and he would ask any of them to point to any part of that conduct of which he should be ashamed. If he had erred at any time, he was sure that it would be conceded to him, he had erred with honour. He was ready to go through all the events of his public life, from the first time he mingled in public affairs; and he was willing to submit his conduct to the most rigid examination. He had commenced his early career on the benches of the Opposition. After the year 1807, this was the third time that he had troubled their lordships with his opinions on a public occasion. When it pleased the Almighty to render it necessary for the present sovereign of these realms to assume the office of Regent, he (the Duke of Clarence) formed a resolution,

that although he should not be satisfied with everything that might occur, he would thenceforth give his support to His Majesty's ministers. To that resolution, he had hitherto adhered. On the Catholic question, he had always maintained the same opinion ; but he did not come forward actively and openly to support the measure, not only because he saw His Majesty's Cabinet unfortunately divided upon it, but also because he saw that the measure itself was every year making way, and gaining new ground, and that it was every year acquiring such consequence, that the time was not far distant, when ministers would be compelled to make up their minds upon it ; and he reserved the declaration of his own opinion until that period should have, as happily it now had, arrived. He thought it better and more befitting on his part to act thus, than to make that Government, which was at all times arduous and difficult, still more difficult, by giving to it his opposition. Entertaining that opinion, he had acted accordingly. The noble Duke at the head of affairs would recollect, His Royal Highness said, that he had expressed to him opinions similar to those which he had just delivered, at the period that he was removed from the high office which some time since he had the honour to fill. In a conversation which he then had with the noble Duke, he expressed his sorrow that Catholic concession was still to be resisted, and that the Government should continue divided in opinion upon that question, which, above all other questions, was one that involved the interests and safety of the country. He added, at the same time, that while such differences in the Cabinet existed, the measure should not have his support ; but still it was his opinion, that it ought to be carried. Thank God, the day had at length arrived for the carrying of this great and

healing measure of liberality and justice. He was not in the secrets of the Cabinet, but he trusted that whatever measure might be introduced, it would be found much less objectionable than was now supposed, particularly by the right reverend lords on the bench opposite. He trusted that before the measure was brought under their consideration, those right reverend prelates would seriously deliberate, duly weigh, and anxiously consider, in what way they ought to act—that they would keep in mind they were the ministers of peace—that they would consider whether the situation of Great Britain, which must and would be influenced by this important event—whether the situation of this country, and that of Europe at large, was not such, as, that different events, upon which none could calculate, might, at no distant day, be productive of war—that they would seriously ask themselves whether their persevering opposition to the claim of their Catholic countrymen, might not hasten such a crisis, or produce far worse, a civil war at home; and in such a case, how would they then dare to call themselves the ministers of peace? Let the right reverend prelates duly weigh these considerations, before they determined on opposing His Majesty's ministers. The royal Duke said, he would again repeat, that he knew not the exact nature of the measure which was to be introduced. It was sufficient for him, that the intention of bringing it forward had been announced; and he thanked his God that the measure of justice was at length about to be carried into effect, which would purify and tranquillise that dear, generous, and aggrieved country, whose rights had been so long withheld."

Some expressions in this speech, reflecting strongly

upon the opponents of the proposed measures, produced an altercation between His Royal Highness and the Duke of Cumberland, who defended himself from the imputation of being actuated by factious motives, in his resistance to ministers ; on this subject the Duke of Clarence replied, and pledged himself to support the measure throughout.

## CHAPTER XI.

AT this exciting period the Duke of Clarence was to be in close relation with one of the most conspicuous figures in English society, the Duke of Wellington, the Prime Minister, who had met, or knew intimately, or had corresponded with every sovereign or minister. Yet, though not twenty years had elapsed since the battle that had closed the chapters of his great wars, his fame had been gradually eclipsed by the ill-success and partial unpopularity of his political course; and it was not until another reign, when he had altogether and finally given up office and politics, that he regained that old admiration, and even veneration, which was to attend him to his death. The great soldier was indeed unsuited to the shifts and intrigues of parties, though it must be owned he seemed to lend himself to underhand courses and plots for supplanting opponents with extraordinary readiness. Such attempts were conspicuous failures, and only brought him discredit and mortification. It was a pity that he should have lent his honoured name to what were nothing but *coups d'état*, in carrying out which he showed himself but a clumsy conspirator.\*

\* The military despatches of the Duke have long been the admiration of all who have studied military subjects; but the long

We find him in communication with all the military chiefs of Europe: emperors, kings, diplomatists, and with even local correspondents of an humbler kind. His mode of dealing with his own sovereign or with the royal dukes was admirable for the tone of authority and respect and good sense. What could be more admirable than his contemptuous account of his differences with the ill-conditioned Duke of Cumberland?

One incident that occurred only two years before the King came to the throne exhibits him in so singular a light, that it will be found interesting to pause a little here and consider the details, which are literally unknown to the public.

The conflict of the Catholic Emancipation was marked during its last crisis by a truly extraordinary and exceptional incident, the details of which are little known, and which offer an interesting illustration of character and manners. This was the duel between the Prime Minister, the Duke of Wellington, and a tolerably obscure "Protestant" peer, the Earl of Winchilsea. However admirable as a great captain, he here showed but little sense or sagacity, though, indeed, it will be seen that everybody concerned in the business seems to have behaved with a certain indiscretion or infelicity.

series of volumes devoted to "civil" matters—offer an extraordinary body of entertaining and significant information. Everything has been given to the public with a singular candour, if not indiscretion; and the curious gossip, and bits of secret history thereto to be found, have only escaped notice from the quantity of irrelevant matter in which they are buried. It is impossible not to admire the sense of duty and universal power, and his sensible, manly views on all the ordinary topics a man of the world encounters, save one subject, on which he utters what might be called incredible nonsense.

The quarrel, as is pretty well known, arose out of an offensive letter written by Lord Winchilsea, who seized the opportunity of withdrawing his subscription to King's College to indulge his political rancour. He writes on March 4, 1829 :

"Late political events have convinced me that the whole plan of the foundation of King's College was intended as a blind to the Protestant and High Church party, that the noble Duke, who had for some time previous to that determined upon breaking in on the Constitution of 1688, might the more effectually, under the cloak of some outward show of zeal for the Protestant religion, carry on his insidious designs for the infringement of our liberties and the introduction of Popery into every department of State."

This insult could not be passed over by a soldier. On the same day the Duke wrote two letters to different addresses to know whether the letter was authentic. The Earl answered that he thought it necessary to make public the reasons for withdrawing his name. The Duke replied, saying that no man had a right to insult another by attributing disgraceful motives for his conduct. He was convinced that "Lord Winchilsea would make reparation for such a charge, and relieve himself from the ban of having insulted a man who never injured you." The other then announced that he was willing to withdraw his charge on the Duke's declaring that there was no foundation for it.

On this the Duke called on his friend Sir Henry Hardinge, and put the matter in his hands; but he could not obtain any satisfaction, and at last the Duke

himself wrote to his traducer : "Instead of apologising for your conduct, your lordship has called upon me to explain mine. The question for me now to decide is this : Is a gentleman, who happens to be the King's minister, to submit to be insulted by any gentleman who thinks proper to attribute to him disgraceful or criminal motives ? I cannot doubt of the decision which I ought to make on this question. Your lordship is alone responsible for the consequences. I now call upon your lordship to give me that satisfaction for your conduct which a gentleman has a right to require, and which a gentleman never refuses to give."

The other wrote, that "the satisfaction which your grace has demanded, is, of course, impossible for me to decline." Accordingly the matter was arranged by the seconds, Sir H. Hardinge and Lord Falmouth. Nothing could have been more extraordinary than the choice of the two assistants, and it was by merest accident that the whole did not end disastrously. On the one side there was an almost insolent military bearing, which it will be seen put aside even the usual etiquette of the duello ; on the other there was an extraordinary indecision and feminine helplessness. It is a fact that Lord Falmouth made his principal promise that he would not fire at the Duke, as a condition of his attending him to the ground, where he placed him to be fired at by the Duke. But a well-known physician of the time, who was actually present, shall relate what took place.\*

This Dr. Hume was asked by the Duchess of Wellington to set down for her the particulars of the scene, which he accordingly did, in a pleasant, vivacious style.

\* See the Duke of Wellington's "Correspondence and Memoranda for 1829."

The paper is dated March 21, 1829, and introduced with a motto :

*"Les moindres circonstances deviennent essentielles quand il s'agit d'un grand homme."*

"In consequence of a note from Sir H. Hardinge I repaired to his house in Whitehall Place at a quarter before seven, and I found that he was engaged as second in a duel and desired that I should accompany him to the field. He didn't mention the names, but said they were persons of rank and importance, and desired particularly that I would keep near him on the ground, so that I might testify how anxious he had been to prevent bloodshed." He then set off on horseback to meet his friend, and told the doctor to get into the carriage.

He drove off by Pimlico over Battersea Bridge, and stopped about half a mile on the other side of the river at a point where the two roads cross each other at the foot of the hill.

"Here I alighted, and was looking about me to see if anyone should make his appearance, when, to my astonishment, I perceived Sir H. Hardinge and the Duke of Wellington riding towards me. The Duke rode up suddenly, saying in a laughing manner: 'Well, I daresay you little expected it was I who wanted you to be here.' I was overwhelmed with amazement, and so greatly agitated that I could scarcely answer him; but I put on as steady a countenance as I was able, and replied: 'Indeed, my lord, you are the last person I should have expected here.' He said: 'Ah, perhaps so; but it was impossible to avoid it, and you will see by-and-by that I had no alternative.'"

Sir H. Hardinge now came, and requesting Dr. Hume to fetch the case of pistols he had brought

with him, the party moved on to Battersea Fields, when the principal and his second rode up the hill to look out for the arrival of their opponents. And here our doctor, having laid the pistols in a field behind some broken hedges, continued walking quietly along the path, so as not to attract observation. Presently Lord Falmouth and Lord Winchilsea arrived. Sir H. Hardinge got off his horse and saluted them, but the Duke kept at a distance. After some remarks, Lord Falmouth asked Sir Henry if he had received a paper he had sent him. The other replied that he had, but had not read it; and added a remark on the little necessity, as it appeared to him, for *coming to this extremity*. Lord Falmouth seemed much agitated and much affected, and said nothing had ever given him so much pain; but it was impossible to avoid it. The whole party now moved on to the ground selected, but perceiving some people at work, they leaped a ditch and got into another field. Sir H. Hardinge having only one hand, the doctor offered to load the pistols; and when he was proceeding to load the second, Lord Falmouth asked: "Would not one be sufficient?" The doctor replied that it would save trouble afterwards.

Lord Falmouth, who was in a strange state of agitation that almost unfitted him for the duties he had undertaken, invited the physician to look at his operations; but he got into such confusion that the doctor offered to help him, and he at last succeeded in getting the bullet home. The doctor now remonstrated warmly, saying that he, Lord Falmouth, might surely have prevented the business; but he insisted it was unavoidable. The ground was now stepped out and twelve paces measured out, Lord Falmouth marking "the point with the heel of his boot." Lord Winchilsea, however, on taking his

place, objected that he was placed between two trees, when the doctor obligingly said : " Oh, my lord, you may place yourself where you like, a little more to the right or to the left." " Have the goodness to place yourself here, Duke," said Sir Henry to his principal. Then followed this remarkable incident :

" Sir Henry then took one of the pistols from me, and placing it under his arm he went about half way between Lord Winchilsea and the Duke, where he stood still, and taking a paper from his pocket he called on Lord Falmouth to come near him, and Lord Winchilsea to pay attention while he read it aloud. After protesting in the strongest manner against the whole proceeding, he reminded and warned both Lord Falmouth and Lord Winchilsea that they alone must be answerable for the consequences that must ensue : ' And, if I do not now express my opinions to your lordship in the same tone of disgust I have done in the progress of the affair, it is because I wish to imitate the moderation of the Duke of Wellington ; ' on which Lord Winchilsea said something in a low voice about '*rather strong language*' Lord Falmouth seemed much affected, and replied, I think with tears in his eyes, that nothing had ever given him so much pain, etc., and that though he disapproved of the publisher of the letter, which was indeed indefensible, what he had done was unaccountable."

After some other remarks over which Lord Falmouth fairly defended himself, Sir Henry said : " Indeed, my Lord Falmouth, I don't envy your feelings." Now it is evident that all this lecturing and " hectoring " on the part of the Duke's second was unbecoming and undignified in the highest degree, and had all the air of an attempt at intimidating his opponents into withdrawal through fear of consequences.

Sir Henry, now noticing some people who were collecting to look on, said, "I think we had better take our ground;" and the Duke, who had remained all the time in the same spot, without saying a word, but with a smile of good nature on his face, received his pistol and cocked it. Poor, helpless Lord Falmouth now could only say he would leave the mode of firing, etc., entirely to Sir H. Hardinge, and accordingly had simply to give the word "Fire." He did so. Then followed this extraordinary incident of this extraordinary duel. The Duke raised his pistol and presented it, but hesitated a moment when he saw his adversary did not do the same, and at last fired, but without effect. Lord Winchilsea remained passive till the Duke had fired, holding his arm down by his side, then raised his pistol perpendicularly and fired in the air. On which Lord Falmouth now came forward and declared: "Lord Winchilsea, having received the Duke's fire, is now in different circumstances from those in which he stood before," and pulled out a paper. Sir Henry said: "The Duke expects an ample apology and acknowledgment of error." Lord Falmouth then proceeded to read some sort of acknowledgment. Now it would reasonably be thought that the Duke had received full satisfaction. He had shot at his enemy, who received his fire without shooting at him. An apology, or what purported to be an apology, was read. The Duke's second, too, had enjoyed the privilege of reproaching and vituperating the other second and his principal. But, no; the military men were not satisfied. Though couched in terms of regret, etc., it seems the word "apology" was not mentioned, and the Duke, who had drawn near to listen, said in a low voice: "*This won't do; it is no apology.*" Sir Henry took a paper from his pocket, and read out

something, saying : "This is what we expect." On which the unhappy Lord Falmouth interrupted, declaring what he had read was meant as an apology. But Sir Henry insisted bluntly that unless the word "apology" was inserted, "we take our ground." Then turning to Lord Winchilsea, who had come up, like the Duke, to consult with his second, the officer haughtily rebuked him : "My Lord Winchilsea, this is an affair between the seconds," on which Lord Winchilsea retired. Only the instant before Sir Henry had himself consulted with his principal.

After some hesitation Lord Falmouth agreed to insert the word "apology," and the opposite side declared themselves satisfied. But Sir Henry Hardinge had something yet before him : that is, to reprove the guilty party who had been shot at, who had not shot, and who had apologised.

"And now, gentlemen," he said, "without making any invidious reflections, I cannot help remarking that, whether wisely or unwisely the world will judge, you have been the cause of bringing this man (pointing to the Duke) into the field, where, during the whole course of a long military career, he never was before." The Duke here came forward and bowed coldly to his two opponents. Lord Falmouth, still much affected, completed his series of mistakes by saying that he had always thought and told Lord Winchilsea "*that he was completely in the wrong;*" to which Sir Henry fairly retorted "*that if he did this, he had done that which he would not do for the dearest friend he had in the world.*" Lord Falmouth then began to address himself to the Duke in vindication of his conduct, saying what pain it had given him, etc. But the Duke coldly interrupted him : "My Lord Falmouth, I have nothing

to do with these matters." He then touched the brim of his hat with two fingers and mounted his horse, saying: "Good-morning, my Lord Winchilsca; good-morning, my Lord Falmouth." And thus the victorious pair rode quietly off the field of battle.

The doctor was left behind to gather up the pistols, etc.; and when Lord Falmouth, with needless caution it would seem, must point out that the alteration in the paper had not been verified, and so got the doctor to attach his initials, he assured the latter that he never would have gone out with his friend unless he had promised not to fire at the Duke.

"God forbid," murmured Lord Winchilsca, "that I should ever lift my hand against him."

Thus the affair ended. It is clear indeed that with two discreet seconds the quarrel, in the temper of Lord Winchilsca, could have been easily settled. But it is curious to speculate what would have been the result had one of the "Protestant" champions been killed by the Prime Minister, and what would have been the result on the great question of Emancipation.\*

\* As everything about this great man is interesting, another dramatic incident may be referred to here, viz. the one connected with the ball at the Duchess of Richmond's, on the eve of Waterloo, and which throws some light on the question whether the Duke was "surprised." Captain Bowles wrote describing the Duke, asking the Duke of Richmond for a map as the ball was going on, and being brought by him into a room where there was one. "He has *humbugged* me (by G—), he has gained twenty-four hours' march on me." The Duke of Richmond said: "What do you intend doing?" The Duke of Wellington replied: "I have ordered the army to concentrate at Quatre-Bras; but we shall not stop him there, and if so I must fight him *here*" (at the same time passing his thumb-nail over the position of Waterloo). He then said adieu and left the house by another way out. He went to his quarters, slept six hours and breakfasted, and rode at speed to Quatre-Bras, where

he met Hardinge and went with him to Blucher, who took him over the position at Ligny. The Duke of Wellington suggested many alterations, but Blucher would not consent to move a man. The conversation in the Duke of Richmond's dressing-room was repeated to me two minutes after it occurred, by the Duke of Richmond, "who then marked the Duke of Wellington's thumb-nail on the map"—*The First Earl of Malmesbury*, ii., 445. To this may be added a passage in his letter to the conference. "I say nothing about our defensive operations, because I am inclined to believe that Blucher and I are so well united and so strong that the enemy cannot do us much mischief. I am at the advanced post of the whole; the greatest part of the enemy's force is in my front; and if I am satisfied, others need be under no apprehension."

## CHAPTER XII.

WE are now arrived at a singular passage in our royal hero's life, when his promotion to an ornamental office completely overset him, and caused him to play such fantastic pranks, as to excite the serious concern of his friends. It had been determined to revive for his benefit the obsolete office of Lord High Admiral, which had been left unfilled since the days of Prince George of Denmark and the Earl of Pembroke, while the predecessor of Prince George had been King James II., a name of awkward omen. Whatever might have been its ancient efficiency, this honourable position was now little more than a "senior Lordship of the Admiralty." It might have been thought, from long experience of the Duke, and his curiously excitable nature—certain to be quickened into extravagance where authority was given to him—that this was a foolish step, and likely to engender inconvenience and annoyance. But it was probably a humour of His Majesty who ever delighted in theatrical shows, and who was besides fond of his brother. As his health was failing, ministers were not inclined to cross him.

Accordingly the commission was made out, and

the Duke entered on his office. He had by this time attained a sort of professional reputation for looking after discipline, the state of his ships, etc., and he would now have good opportunities for exerting his fancy.

This was one of the first acts of the Canning government. That eminent statesman had a certain taste for theatrical effects in politics, and in this respect was akin to the late Lord Beaconsfield, and he may have thought that the revival of this high office might "redress a balance" of some kind; but such aspirations, if they existed, were soon to be rudely checked. It was a most unlucky appointment. There was something amusing in giving a Prince of the Blood an office which had an air of such authority, and yet which was in reality to be limited to the functions of a mere official. The name and the office seemed antagonistic, and, as if to prevent their awkward antagonism, the patent was prepared in the strictest terms. There is a curious analogy in the relation of the office of Commander-in-Chief to that of Secretary at War, and rumours have been afloat that the royal holder of the former office has often struggled to give his powers a more extended direction. Another inconsistency was remarked, viz., that if the Lord High Admiral was no more than a common official and First Lord, why was he not in the Cabinet as other First Lords were?

His Royal Highness entered on his duties with surprising alacrity, announcing that he would hold levées open to all officers, beginning by making alterations in the uniform and new regulations as to promotion, etc. He was particularly fond of aquatic tours of inspection or nautical promenades along the coast.

His vessel was *The Royal Sovereign* yacht, and the Duchess, who had no fancy for the sea, kept up with the vessel by following the line of the coast, being entertained as she travelled at the various houses of the nobility along the coast. Various odd speeches and proceedings of the Lord High Admiral were now reported, which seemed to give a significant warning of future eccentricities, and which by-and-by gave reason to doubt whether the force of circumstances and novel concession of authority had not some effect in disturbing His Royal Highness's wits.\* After his tour, which he intercepted to attend the funeral of his friend Mr. Canning, the Lord High Admiral returned to London. Attending a Lord Mayor's banquet, in Nov., 1827, he had rather a narrow escape from a serious casualty. A heavy and enormous chandelier, suspended over the table, and made into the form of an anchor, suddenly fell with a crash, and so close to the Duke as to inflict a slight bruise. In 1828 his mother-in-law, the Duchess of Meiningen, came to London, and in her honour the Lord High Admiral organised a singular description of fête on the Thames—a Venetian regatta—in which all the great City barges took part. The Duke of Wellington was the chief attraction—it being the anniversary of the Battle of Waterloo—who was rowed in a cutter manned by young noblemen.

\* It was reported that, after inspecting the ships, he dined with the Mayor, and desired Mr. Selwyn, the Recorder, to give his compliments to Chief Justice Best, now Lord Wynford, then one of the judges on the circuit, and desire him, when he had a touch of the gout, to remember His Royal Highness, and their early acquaintance.

## THE LORD HIGH ADMIRAL TO A LADY.

“ Bushey House, Thursday (undated).

“ MADAM,

“ This morning I received your letter and its enclosure, which I return. I cannot but feel obliged by your attention on this occasion, but am decidedly of opinion that *silent contempt* is the best refutation of *totally unprovoked falsehood*, and particularly where a female is concerned.

“ Ever believe me,

“ Yours sincerely.”

## THE SAME TO LADY DARNLEY.

“ MY DEAREST LADY DARNLEY,

“ Certainly I take it not amiss that you wish better to come this evening. Will you then be so kind to come together at nine o'clock. I am delighted that the dear baby is better. God bless her and you, dearest Lady Darnley,

“ Believe me, your very affectionate

“ WILLIAM.”

## THE DUKE OF CLARENCE TO SIR HOWARD DOUGLAS.

“ Bushey, 17th October, 1829.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ Late last night I received yours of yesterday and the book. I shall have much pleasure in reading your new edition on Naval Gunnery, because, though Sir G. Cockburn and other *self-conceited* assistants in the Royal Navy may ridicule attention to gunnery, I know by experience that your worthy father and Admiral Digby did their duty by introducing precision among

the officers and men in the King's fleet as to the use of the great gun. Notwithstanding the splendour of the important victories gained in the late revolutionary war, the 12th April, 1782, must stand unrivalled in the naval history of this country, and I am therefore not surprised you should feel proud of being the son of the late Sir Charles Douglas.

"I remain, &c.,

"CLARENCE."

In 1827, when the Duke of Clarence was in the high enjoyment of his fantastic office, the well-remembered difficulty in the East, which led to the battle of Navarin, or Navarino, came about. Of Sir Edward Codrington, the admiral in command, he was an ardent friend and patron. Nothing could show more clearly the cumbrous nature of the arrangement which gave the Lord High Admiral a share in the direction of the arrangements, as we find despatches addressed to him by the Foreign Secretary, and by the Admiral himself.

The details were a good deal arranged by His Royal Highness. For Admiral Codrington he seems to have had a warm regard, and in the later discussions took up his cause with much warmth. His correspondence with the Admiral is in his own characteristic manner.

THE DUKE OF CLARENCE TO ADMIRAL CODRINGTON.

*"Royal Sovereign* Yacht, Plymouth,

"July 16, 1827.

"DEAR SIR,

" You will see from whence I write that I have not time to say all I ought in consequence of the impor-

tant despatches which this accompanies. I make no doubt discretion, prudence, and perfect deliberation will be your guides. One thing I particularly mention : *not* permitting yourself to be commanded by the Admirals of *either* of the *other* Powers. Your card is the more difficult because I am afraid France is not sincere, and perhaps Russia is not. But I am sure coolness and deliberation will direct you.

"I shall be anxious to know the course this negotiation *will* or *may* take.

"God bless you, and ever believe me,  
"Yours most truly,  
"WILLIAM."

It will be seen that His Royal Highness had already hoisted his flag in that unlicensed fashion which was to cause him so much trouble. It may be that his naval ardour was kindled by the far-off battle that was impending.

FROM THE DUKE OF CLARENCE TO ADMIRAL CODRINGTON.

"Admiralty, October 16, 1827.

"DEAR SIR,

"Yours of the 10th off Napoli di Malvasia, and its continuation of September 12 off Navarin, reached me on the 9th of this month ; it is therefore clear the Turkish expedition was, when you wrote, in Navarin and Modon. I trust there they will remain till the force employed against them will be of that nature that the Turks will not think of coming out for fear of the result. You will receive the official orders to endeavour to get the Pacha of Egypt and his son to withdraw the troops and ships, but the forces must be on board the Egyptian ships. . . . I recommend to you again

prudence and coolness, and shall be guided by my own judgment. . . . I shall be most anxious to hear of events as they arise; and ever remain,

“Dear Sir, yours most truly,

“WILLIAM.”

There is a story which has been often repeated, but which it is believed deserves a place among these “mock pearls of history,” which Mr. Hayward has collected. It is to the effect that the Lord High Admiral encouraged his friend in a private letter to attack the Turks with a pithy “*Go it, Ned!*” No such expression is to be found in any of the letters published by his family.

The testimony of Sir W. Codrington, G.C.B., son of the Admiral, will be sufficient on this point. He writes to me:

“I have frequently contradicted, and I have heard my father frequently contradict, the assertion of the truth of that message or expression, ‘*Go it, Ned!*’

“There is not even the slightest foundation for it. I believe it to have been invented for a purpose in England. Sir Edward Codrington left England for the command in the Mediterranean in February, 1827. The Treaty of London was not signed till July of that year, consequently there could have been no verbal communication of that nature.

“I was cognizant at the time, and have now in my possession every private letter written by the then Duke of Clarence.

“There is no single word, sentence, or hint of the nature of such a sentence as that about which you inquire.”

This seems to set the question at rest.

When the news of the battle arrived, the enthusiastic

Prince sent a generous token of his appreciation of his friend's behaviour.

## THE DUKE OF CLARENCE TO ADMIRAL CODRINGTON.

"Admiralty : November 19, 1827.

"DEAR SIR,

"In the first place, I am to congratulate you on the splendid victory you have obtained, and rejoice you are quite well. I admire your perfect conduct on the day of battle, and most highly appreciate the exertions of all ranks under your orders. . . .

"Ever believe me, dear Sir,

"Yours most sincerely,

"WILLIAM.

"P.S.—By the mail coach of this evening I send down to Captain Bridgeman, of the *Rattlesnake*, your Insignia of the Bath, and the crosses of the C.B.'s for the various Captains and Commanders who had the honour and happiness of serving under, and sharing with you the glory of the 20th of October last.

"By the same conveyance I venture to send a sword from myself, which I trust you will accept as a small token of my admiration of your conduct in Navarin Bay."

## FROM SIR JOHN GORE TO ADMIRAL CODRINGTON.

"November 14, 1827.

"MY DEAR CODRINGTON,

"In my letter of Monday I purposed to make my bow of congratulation to the Lord High Admiral upon your brilliant victory under his Royal Highness's administration. I did so yesterday, and was well received. . . . He said :

“‘ As I have nothing to do with political considerations, and only look to the conduct of the navy, when I sent Codrington’s despatches to the King I requested that the Grand Cross of the Bath should be sent to him at once ; and as the case is entirely novel, and sloops of war have fought with ships of the line, I have promoted all the commanders, the senior officer of each rank in every ship, and, contrary to the routine, I have given the vacancies in the Marines to the officers on the spot. But, to effect this, I have been obliged to fight a battle to overcome the obstinate prejudices which exist in that Board-room of which you can form no idea— . . . but I conquered, and will again, in order to do justice.

“‘ . . . The consequences of this victory to the navy must be most beneficial and lasting, and it is my duty to see justice done to all who aided in its achievement.’

“‘ Your Royal Highness has enhanced the value of your approbation by the promptness of the rewards.’

“‘ Yes, in that consists the advantage of my not being a Cabinet Minister. I, like the Duke of York, have only to look to my own duty, without waiting the cold calculation of political considerations. Ministers would gladly shelter themselves from the odium of the nation by throwing the blame on Codrington ; but he has done his duty nobly. I will uphold him. And he has placed himself above their disapprobation by linking Count Heiden and Admiral de Rigny to his car.’

“‘ This is the substance (if not verbatim) of our conversation on the subject.”

It will be seen by the allusion “not being in the Cabinet,” etc., that serious doubts had already risen as to the propriety of the course taken.

It is difficult to read the full accounts of the battle and all that preceded it without coming to the conclusion that the Admiral departed from his instructions, which were, in the words of Lord Dudley : "The principle to bear in mind, as the key to any difficulties that may still present themselves to you, is that we are not at war—that we do not desire to be at war—but that what we aim at is to part the combatants."

It is remarkable that a person now alive, honoured, and esteemed, and just touching his hundredth year, was the person who carried Admiral Codrington's despatches home. This was the present Sir Moses Montefiore, who posted with four horses through Italy and France, bearing letters to the Duke of Clarence. With characteristic punctuality he delivered them, by leaving them with the Duke immediately on reaching London, and before going to his own house. At eleven o'clock next morning His Royal Highness sent for him to Park Lane, and in the course of the conversation which followed asked, what people in the East were saying of the battle. Mr. Montefiore replied that it was thought the Admiral was compelled to act as he had done, for, as Codrington himself had said : "When the British flag is insulted, a British seaman then knows what is his duty." Whereupon the Duke of Clarence exclaimed, with the characteristic trick of iteration, "Inevitable, inevitable !"

At this time the feud between the Lord High Admiral and his colleagues was raging, and this having his way in showering decorations on the performers in the Navarino business, before a decision had been arrived at as to their merits, was to prove highly inconvenient.

H.R.H. THE DUKE OF CLARENCE TO SIR E. C.

"Bushey House, November 4, 1827.

"DEAR SIR,

"Your confidential of 30th September is what it ought to be from a Commander-in-Chief to a person in my situation. You and I ought to know *when* and *where* to be prudent, and to write and talk with confidence. . . .

"You know I never approved of our ships in peace having a different complement from war; and as fast as I have the power so will I send you men to complete the whole squadron. The *Warspite* will have joined you.

"I admire your public despatches and approve altogether of your conduct. I trust all the captains and commanders will follow your excellent example in zeal and ability."

THE DUKE OF CLARENCE TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

"Admiralty, February 10, 1828.

"DEAR DUKE,

"The enclosed memorial from Sir E. Codrington reached me at the moment of the dissolution of the Government, on which account I then kept it back. Since that time I was not inclined to trouble your grace, because I clearly saw the many and conflicting difficulties which existed in the arrangement of the present Administration, which I trust in God is now formed. Under this persuasion, I now send your grace the memorial of Sir E. Codrington in behalf of himself and his brave companions in arms at the battle of Navarino, for head-money, and also stating the value of the loss of the ships and vessels in the Turkish Empire. Though I had the good fortune to agree with your

grace in every sentiment expressed by yourself in the House of Lords respecting the Grand Signor being the ancient and natural ally of England, I must call your grace's attention to the memorial and earnestly entreat a favourable consideration of so extraordinary and novel a case, where His Majesty's officers and men have conducted themselves with great honour to their King and country, and with such credit to themselves. Being now on the subject of naval and, of course, of military, achievements, I wish to call your grace's mind to the propriety of re-establishing, in *both* services, the medals again; as from the statutes of the military Order of the Bath, till officers become in either army or navy generals or admirals, they are most properly not entitled to become K.C.B.'s. Another point I wish to mention to your grace, and on which, as on these, I shall converse when your grace is less occupied, is the expediency of enlarging and introducing the third class into the Civil part of the Order of the Bath.

"I remain, &c.,

"CLARENCE."

THE DUKE OF CLARENCE TO SIR E. CODERINGTON.

"Admiralty, February 5, 1828.

"DEAR SIR,

".... I conceive the King's Speech, which I enclose, the complete and manly declaration of the Duke of Wellington, the perfect concurrence in your conduct from the Marquis of Lansdowne and Viscount Goderich, and the unqualified approbation in the House of Commons, will entirely satisfy your mind. The letter from the Emperor of Russia, together with the honours conferred on you by the King of France and his Russian

Imperial Majesty, must convince you of the opinion of the Allied Powers. . . .

“I remain, dear Sir, yours truly,  
“WILLIAM.”

THE DUKE OF CLARENCE TO SIR E. CODRINGTON.

“Admiralty, February 17, 1828.

“DEAR SIR,

“I say nothing more on the subject of Navarin, because I conceive the public mind here for ever at rest. You ought, with your friends, to be most perfectly satisfied; and I once more repeat you were *fully* authorised by your instructions to strike the blow you did in Navarin, and the *whole of Europe* has *amply* and *honourably* done you justice.

“God bless you, and ever believe me, dear Sir,

“Yours most truly,  
“WILLIAM.”

It would appear that, but for the interposition of the King and the Lord High Admiral, Codrington would have been at once punished by being recalled. “Your Royal Highness,” he writes, “will see at once that my original sin was the battle of Navarin; and that this predetermined mode of throwing upon me the natural, the inevitable consequences of the Treaty, though prevented heretofore by the kind protection of His Majesty and your Royal Highness, has been persevered in till a better opportunity has offered.”

When the Speech from the Throne was delivered in February, 1828, there occurred in it the awkward phrase “untoward,” as applied to the battle. It had been objected to by the occasionally sagacious King, and the Duke of Wellington had to explain that what was

intended was, that it was "unfortunate," and unexpected. The Duke of Clarence wrote, ardently congratulating his friend.

The indignant Admiral, when he got to London, brought the Duke of Wellington "to book," on the treatment he had received, when the following not undramatic dialogue ensued:

*Duke.* Hostility! I give you my word that neither I myself, nor any one member of the Government, nor the Government as a whole, have the most distant feelings of hostility towards you. I know no officer for whose services or whose conduct I have a higher esteem.

*Sir E. C.* Then will your Grace let me ask you why I was so superseded?

*Duke.* Because you seemed to understand your orders differently from myself and my colleagues, and I felt that we could not go on.

*Sir E. C.* I only understood my orders in what appeared their very obvious sense to *my* colleagues as well as myself, but if your Grace instructed me to take a different reading of them, I should readily have guided myself by it.

*Duke.* Well! I still understand them as I did at first.

*Sir E. C.* And *I* understand them as I did at first. But let me ask your Grace which is the part in which we differ?

*Duke (after a pause).* You must excuse me!

*Sir E. C. (A low bow; taking up his hat and turning to depart).*

*Duke.* If at any time, while in town, you should wish to say anything further to me, I should be very happy to see you.

*Sir E. C.* Pardon me, your Grace ; but if you feel you cannot answer that simple question, I have nothing further to say, and it is thus quite unnecessary for me to trouble your Grace again.

Admiral Codrington must have been an embarrassing person to deal with, for when he was in the House, he, on one occasion, produced "a bill," that had been sent in to him, for charges connected with the Grand Cross of the Bath, which he had received.

"Upon receiving it I showed the bill to the First Lord of the Admiralty, who observed that it was very hard upon me to have such a sum to pay. 'Not the least,' I replied, '*for I don't mean to pay a farthing.*' I was told there was an Order in Council that everybody must pay the customary fees ; but my reply was that I had nothing to do with the Order in Council ; and that as I had neither contributed to the Order in Council, nor asked for this or any other such distinction, I would not pay one single farthing for it ; and I wish, Sir, all the officers on whom the honour was conferred had done the same thing. It would have upheld the distinction very much. Among the items which struck me most forcibly is the charge of £122 to the King's household. What patent right can they have to entitle them to this sum ? The fees amounted to nearly £400. After a certain time I was sent for by the First Lord of the Admiralty, who told me that I should hear no more of the claim. I said : 'If this distinction is conferred only upon the condition of paying for it, you may take it back again from me, for I would not have it on such terms.' "

## CHAPTER XIII.

BUT now strange rumours got abroad of attempts on the part of the Lord High Admiral to assume despotic and independent power. This was first shown in a dispute about a commission on gunnery, which the High Admiral had arranged after his own fashion and in the absence of his colleagues. One of these, a highly efficient officer, Sir George Cockburn, when he returned to town firmly pointed out that the Duke had exceeded his powers, and the Council accordingly modified the whole.

This roused the anger of the Lord High Admiral, who, after complaining in very bitter terms of Sir George, seems to have henceforth conceived a rooted antipathy to him. But he presently put forth his claims in yet more illegal and eccentric fashion, for news now arrived that he had hoisted his flag on board the *Royal Sovereign* yacht in the river without consulting his Council, and had sent an order directing the commission to meet him at Portsmouth. This was in defiance of his patent, which enjoined that in every step he should be advised by two members of the council. His order ran :

“ It is my directions that the members of the com-

mittee on gunnery, now sitting at the Admiralty, proceed to Portsmouth, ready to wait upon me there by Monday morning, the 14th instant, and that they be prepared to remain at Portsmouth if I shall think proper. Given under my hand, on board the *Royal Sovereign* yacht, this 10th day of July, 1828.

“WILLIAM.”

There is an air of burlesque about this proclamation, and, indeed, about the incidents of the whole; the “putting to sea” and hoisting his flag exciting the consternation and perhaps amusement of his bewildered colleagues. The Duke of Wellington was appealed to to bring him back to reason, and through all that followed the difficult task was cast upon that great man of humouring and lecturing this extraordinary Prince; a duty he performed with much tact and good humour.

As he very properly pointed out to him, the object of the Act of Parliament was to give no pecuniary or official responsibility to the Duke of Clarence, who should be merely the official head of the navy. The King was to nominate the Council, so that the Lord High Admiral, while in London and acting with his Council, had all the power that the Board of Commissioners formerly had. If he should be afloat, he should be attended by some of the Council, or transmit his orders to them.

On receipt of the order Sir George Cockburn humbly, and most respectfully, as part of his bounden duty, protested against it, as being illegal and *ultra vires*. He reminded the Duke that he was merely a high officer of State, not a flag officer, in which capacity he could only appear under the special order of the King.

“Sir,” haughtily answered the Duke from his vessel,

on July 10th, "your letter does not give me displeasure, but concern, to see one I had kept when appointed to this situation of Lord High Admiral constantly opposing what I consider good for the King's service. In this free country everyone has a right to have his opinion, and I have therefore to have mine, which differs totally from yours. . . . I cannot conclude without repeating, my Council is not to dictate, but to give advice." He later complained of receiving a letter, "if possible, a more disrespectful, more impertinent, if possible, than his first."

Sir George in the most respectful terms attempted to vindicate himself, and humbly asked for particulars of the occasions on which he had had the misfortune to offend His Royal Highness and set himself against his wishes. On receipt of which patient letter the Lord High Admiral became even more inflamed, and wrote thus to the Duke of Wellington :

"Royal Sovereign yacht, off the North Foreland,  
"11th July, 1828. 4 A.M.

"DEAR DUKE,

"Finding by the *continued* and *serious* difference of opinion there is between me and Sir George Cockburn on points of the utmost consequence concerning His Majesty's naval service, it will not be to the advantage of the public good that Sir George should continue *one of my* Council. I am to request your Grace humbly to submit to the King *in my* name that Rear-Admiral the Honourable Sir Charles Paget may be appointed a member of my Council in the room of Sir George Cockburn. At the same time I submit to your Grace that the sooner this measure takes place the better, in order that, if possible, Sir Charles Paget may

be returned to Parliament before this Session is concluded.

"I have also to submit to His Majesty, through your Grace, the appointment of Rear-Admiral Sir Edward Owen to the highly honourable situation of Privy Councillor. I remain, etc."

The Duke forwarded this strange paper to the King, and answered the Lord High Admiral, telling him plainly that he had exceeded his duty, and that Sir George had only done his. "I am convinced your Royal Highness is too well acquainted with the principles of military discipline and subordination not to be aware that your Royal Highness cannot hoist the flag of the Lord High Admiral for the purpose of exercising a military command and power, unless by the special command of His Majesty." It was his plain duty to tell His Royal Highness that "this course could not be pursued without creating public discussion and giving much annoyance to the King and the Lord High Admiral himself." But this had no effect on His Royal Highness, and we find that on July 12th, Captain Spencer, his officer, informed Sir George Cockburn that the Duke, having applied for his removal, declined to receive further communications from him.

The case was now growing serious, and the confusion general; for the other members announced that *they* would retire if Sir George were dismissed. Nothing, however, could exceed the good nature and patience with which the Duke of Wellington and all concerned tried to reason His Royal Highness into *something* like sense. The Duke almost entreated of him to consider his position, sending him copies of his patent and proving to him that what he had done was illegal. It

was of no use. The Lord High Admiral continued "at sea" flying his flag. The King had now to interfere.

## THE KING TO THE DUKE OF CLARENCE.

"Royal Lodge, Tuesday night, July 15, 1828.

"MY DEAR WILLIAM,

"My friend the Duke of Wellington, as my first minister, has considered it his duty to lay before me the whole of the correspondence that has taken place with you upon the subject relating to yourself and Sir George Cockburn. It is with feelings of the deepest regret that I observe the embarrassing position in which you have placed yourself! You are in error from the beginning to the end. This is not a matter of opinion, but a positive fact; and when the Duke of Wellington so properly calls your attention to the words of your patent, let me ask you how Sir George Cockburn could have acted otherwise?

"You must not forget, my dear William, that Sir George Cockburn is the King's Privy Councillor, and so made by the King to advise the Lord High Admiral. What becomes of Sir George Cockburn's oath, his duty towards me, his sovereign, if he fails to offer such advice as he may think necessary to the Lord High Admiral? Am I, then, to be called upon to dismiss the most useful and perhaps the most important naval officer in my service for conscientiously acting up to the letter and spirit of his oath and his duty? The thing is impossible. I love you most truly, as you know, and no one would do more or go further to protect and meet your feelings; but on the present occasion I have no alternative; you must give way, and listen to the affection of your best friend and most attached brother.

"G. R."

To whom the Lord High Admiral, in reply, still from his vessel, writes :

*"Royal Sovereign* yacht, Portsmouth Harbour,  
"July 17, 1828.

"SIR,

" Your Majesty's most affectionate letter of the 17th inst. from the Royal Lodge has this moment reached me; and in consequence of another I have also received from the Duke of Wellington, as *the Minister*, I think it best to proceed without loss of time to see his Grace in town. I am fully aware I stand at *this* moment in *two* relations to your Majesty, the one *public* the other *private*. I rejoice, *Brother*, the *affection* and *friendship* of *sever* and *fifty* years remain undiminished, and will, I know, *always continue*.

" But the *duty* I owe my sovereign is quite another thing; and, until I have convinced the Duke of Wellington that Sir George Cockburn has *materially* erred, or that I shall be obliged to tender my resignation to your Majesty, I will not, by seeing your Majesty, place *my* sovereign in that situation where there might be a conflict in the *mind* of your Majesty between the feelings of a Brother and the necessary support the *King* of *this* country *must* give to *his* ministers.

" I shall, however, make *one* observation to your Majesty, that Sir George Cockburn *cannot* be the *most useful* and the *most important* officer in your Majesty's service, who *never* had the ships *he* commanded in *proper* fighting trim. I remain, etc."

A most extraordinary production, whether we consider the strange modes of emphasis and "underlinings," or its odd insinuations.

The Lord High Admiral having thus thought it better to set off for town to see the Duke, he first appeared at the Admiralty, and, as Mr. Croker reported, sent word to the offending Sir George "that if he retracted, all might be well." The latter declared that he had the highest respect for His Royal Highness, and would repeat as often as desired his regret at having offended him; but as to the principle or the point in discussion, he felt himself obliged so stand by that.

"His Royal Highness," as Mr. Croker described his share of these amusing episodes, "afterwards sent for me. He talked of ordinary matters with *singular good humour*, told me what he had done in his visitation, and what *he still meant* to do. He alluded very slightly to the pending discussion, but *hinted* at Cockburn with considerable exasperation, and talked of *eternal displeasure*. My opinion is that he means to submit, and would be glad to find any decent excuse for retracting."

On July 18th, the Duke of Wellington had the Lord High Admiral and his enemy before him. Sir George having written a letter in the strict sense of his verbal declarations, the mediator contrived by his serious influence to bring about a direct peace, or rather truce. The Lord High Admiral wrote on the same day to the King.

"Admiralty, July 18.

"SIR,

"By the letter I had the honour of sending your Majesty yesterday from Portsmouth, it must be evident I came up with a determination of having a full explanation with the Duke of Wellington.

"It has taken place, and I therefore hope, considering the anxious desire I must have to give your

Majesty's Government as little trouble as possible, I may yet be of use to my sovereign in the situation I now hold from your Majesty's gracious kindness to me, and I have in consequence to inform your Majesty that I return to-morrow to Portsmouth to continue my inspection of the outposts, and to exercise for a few days with the three-deckers. I am, etc."

In which complacent frame of mind the Lord High Admiral appeared, as it were, "to strike his flag," and withdraw from the false position he had taken up.

## CHAPTER XIV.

ALL might now congratulate themselves that the incident was "closed," and that, after this lesson, there would be no more trouble and no more extravagance. Little they knew the Lord High Admiral. Before a fortnight was out news came that the Lord High Admiral had again put to sea, and was flying his flag—his *military* flag; for one of his odd ideas now was that the King had allotted him *military* duties.

On the 6th of August the much troubled Duke of Wellington had to write to His Majesty:

"I am sorry to tell your Majesty that I received accounts this day that the Lord High Admiral sailed from Plymouth on July 30th, in the *Royal Sovereign* yacht, which bore his flag as Lord High Admiral, with the squadron of ships and vessels."

At a Cabinet Council, Lord Ellenborough heard more particulars of an astonishing kind. "First, the Lord High Admiral, who is endeavouring to establish a claim to be obeyed without the intervention of his Council, is gone to sea with two three-deckers and some small vessels, and is not to reappear till August 9.

Nobody knows where he is gone. He has ordered pilots to be ready to take the —— to Copenhagen on the 10th from the Nore. She is to stay there twenty-four hours, and return by the Great and Little Belts. The orders are to be secret. This expression of his opinion is conveyed in a letter to the two naval lords, in which he tells them he may not have an opportunity of writing again till he returns to the Admiralty. The last order about the vessel going to Copenhagen looks like madness, but it seems it is to take G. Fitz-Clarence there for his pleasure. The letters will be laid before the King, but nothing done yet." On which startling news the King wrote, "that if the Lord Admiral could not make up his mind to fill his station according to the laws of the country, it will be quite impossible for the King to retain him in his present situation."

The Duke at once despatched a severe rebuke saying that he was under the necessity of complaining to the King, who had expressed the greatest concern and surprise, inasmuch as he observed : "No man understood discipline better than His Royal Highness." He again pointed out he had exceeded his duty. This had the effect of bringing him to town. But he was now in a stubborn humour, and determined not to yield.

THE LORD HIGH ADMIRAL TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

"DEAR DUKE,

"On my arrival this morning I found your Grace's letter of yesterday which has surprised me not a little; because, unless some person or persons had particularly called your attention to my having remained from 30th July to August 4th at sea *without* Sir H. Blackwood, I am confident I never should have received such a letter

from your Grace. Under this persuasion I feel singularly situated, but if I am to be *guided* in everything by *my* Council, or if your Grace is to have information of *my* conduct from others, and not listen to my motives for my conduct, I am sure the sooner I resign my official situation the better.

"On all matters of expenses I thank God I have a Council to consult, and on many points I am sensible of the advantage of having *two professional men* to converse with. But to submit to the previous concurrence of my Council on all points may perhaps be the object of the Cabinet, but to which I *will not* and *I cannot* submit. Therefore, unless it be clearly understood between your Grace and myself that I am to be *in future* the judge, *except in matters of expense*, on what subjects I shall consult my Council, *I must* resign.

"I remain," etc.

The Lord High Admiral, however, begged the Lord Chancellor to come and consult with him, and, in his odd phrase, "bring with him a *précis* of the Act, whenever I shall have the *pleasure of shaking* your lordship by the hand." This meeting was the suggestion of the Duke of Wellington, who was sadly plagued by the impracticable Prince and his wayward behaviour. But it will be seen this "shaking of his lordship" by the hand was not to come about.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

"August 10th.

"DEAR DUKE,

"In answer to your Grace's letter of yesterday in answer to mine, which *was* and *was not* sent, because your Grace must recollect the circumstances under which

it was put into your own hands, I shall make *two* observations. The *first* is, I hope and *expect* to see the Chancellor in his room on the 14th instant, to talk over *entirely* my *patent* and the *Act of Parliament*, as I am commanded by His Majesty to be at the Royal Lodge on the 17th. I shall then be a better judge of how I feel as to the positive power I possess, and therefore my mind will then be able to direct my line of conduct in convincing me whether I can be of real use to the country or not in the situation I now hold in the Admiralty. The *other*, and *the most important*, is, I must feel hurt, your Grace conceives it was your duty, from *whatever quarter* the intelligence was received, to mention to me the opinion your Grace entertained, after what I had thought I had so fully and so satisfactorily stated had arisen from a mere accident. I will not at present say more, because it is possible that my conversation with the Lord Chancellor *may* be *satisfactory*, and that the mere accident of my having been alone without Sir Henry Blackwood *can never* happen again.

"I remain."

The Duke, in reply to this mysterious effusion, the innuendoes of which he did not notice, simply enclosed him copies of letters from the King and from himself to the King.

The King now interposed, and in a rather stern letter required that he should "*se soumettre ou se demettre.*"

"I cannot help thinking," writes Lord Ellenborough, "that *now* or very soon the Lord High Admiral will resign. Spencer, his secretary, urges him forward. His family are afraid the fatigue will kill him. He is now and then mad—or very nearly so. The King would be

glad to oust him, thus removing from a prominent situation a brother of whom he is jealous, and creating ill blood between the Heir Presumptive and his Ministers —a thing all Kings like to do."

## THE KING TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

"Royal Lodge, August 11, 1828.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"I have read with the most careful attention your further correspondence with the Lord High Admiral.

"I will repeat to your Grace the words that I used to my brother when I had occasion to write to him on this painful subject, namely: 'That he was in error from beginning to the end.'

"I now desire distinctly to state, once for all, that I most entirely approve of all that you, in the exercise of your bounden duty towards me, as my First Minister, have communicated to the Lord High Admiral on the subject now before me. When I appointed my brother to the station of Lord High Admiral I had reasonably hoped that I should have derived comfort, peace, and tranquility from such an appointment; but from what has hitherto taken place, it would seem as if the very reverse were to happen.

"Can the Lord High Admiral suppose that the laws are to be infringed, the rules of true discipline (which he knows so well how to uphold) are to be broken in upon? and that these things are to pass without notice or remonstrance by the responsible advisers of the Crown? Can the Lord High Admiral suppose that his best friend and his sovereign is to have no feeling under the circumstances? I am quite aware that I am drawing fast

to the close of my life ; it may be the will of the Almighty that a month, a week, a day, may call the Lord High Admiral to be my successor. I love my brother William : I have always done so to my heart's core ; and I will leave him the example of what the inherent duty of a King of this country really is. The Lord High Admiral shall strictly obey the laws enacted by Parliament, as attached to his present station, or I desire immediately to receive his resignation.

"Such are my commands to your Grace.

"Ever your sincere friend,

"G. R."

Things had therefore come to such a pass that the Lord High Admiral had to resign.

THE LORD HIGH ADMIRAL TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

"Buahey House, August 11, 1828, 9 p.m.

"MY DEAR DUKE,

"Your Grace's letter of this day, enclosing a letter from His Majesty, also of this day, accepting in its contents my resignation of the office of Lord High Admiral, together with copies of your Grace's letters to the King of the 8th and 10th instant, have just reached me.

"I have very little, under the present circumstances, to observe to your Grace, except that I trust in God, from the bottom of my heart, that our justly beloved and gracious sovereign may be spared to govern as all for many and many a day. However others might feel at the resignation of so high an office, I can with equal truth and satisfaction declare that I retire from this situation with the most perfect satisfaction to my mind, as conceiving that, with the impediments thrown and intended to have been thrown, in the way of the execu-

tion of my office, I could not have done justice either to the King or to my country."

## THE SAME TO THE KING.

"August 11, 9 p.m.

"DEAREST BROTHER,

"I have just received from the Duke of Wellington your most kind acceptance of my resignation of the office of Lord High Admiral, for which I thank you from the bottom of my heart. As the sovereign you could not have done otherwise, because '*the King must support his ministers.*' I have my story and facts to relate, whenever you can give me an hour's interview. To-morrow is to me a day of peculiar joy and satisfaction, and long may I and all my fellow subjects celebrate the 12th of August as the natal day of the best of sovereigns, and to me of the kindest and most affectionate of brothers and friends. At half-past six to-morrow, I shall pay my personal regards at the Royal Lodge, and then assure you that I am, must and ever shall be,

"Dearest brother,

"Yours most affectionately and unalterably,

"WILLIAM."

The same day he wrote to the Lord Chancellor, to say that their consultation on his powers and privileges need not take place, as he had now resigned office. Still the Duke and the Cabinet were not anxious to push matters to extremities, and wished the Duke to remain and obey the law. But the Duke was sulky, and insisted. Further explanations took place, in presence of the King and Chancellor, when the Duke declared that if he remained, Sir George Cockburn

must be removed. "I spoke to the King after dinner," says the Duke of Wellington, "and explained that I must tell His Majesty, that it would not answer to remove from his office a gentleman who had performed his duty, for no reason except that he had remonstrated against a breach of the law by the Duke. His Royal Highness is therefore out of office."

THE LORD HIGH ADMIRAL TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

"Admiralty, August 14.

"DEAREST BROTHER,

"On my arrival here this morning, I found a letter from the Duke of Wellington.

"I have nothing to say or remark except that, in my resignation and retirement from office, I go without the least feeling of any anger or disappointment. I could not do justice to the King and the country, or have remained in office with honour to myself, if Sir G. Cockburn was to continue upon my Council. Consequently, my retirement has become absolutely necessary. Having now lived in this uninterrupted and closest union of friendship with your excellent and valuable self for fifty-seven years, I can neither forget the affection due to a brother, or the duty I owe my sovereign. Under other circumstances, as you now know my zeal, application, and activity in office (I claim not ability) you may at any time, and in any way, claim my services, and they are entirely at your command. Whenever Parliament meets I shall not set my foot into the House of Lords, and no man living shall have my proxy. The only favour I ask is, that Watson may be permitted to send a copy of the letter I wrote to you from Portsmouth on 17th July, as I am not in possession of a copy."

Mr. Croker describes the Duke suddenly appearing at the office on this very day, when, after business, he made a speech, under the influence of a good deal of suppressed agitation. "He said that he looked upon himself as a military officer; that if he were a civil officer, like the First Lord, he would have many observations to make on the cause of his resignation, etc. The speech was very confused, and we did not, and do not, very well see what His Royal Highness meant by his military and civil distinctions. I believe his idea was to assert his right to hoist his military flag, and to hint that the cause of his retirement was in consequence of his military obedience to the King. He spoke with an eager look and impassioned voice." He then summoned Mr. Croker and commended him; but uttered violent complaints against others. "At his first appearance he treated Sir George with marked displeasure; but afterwards was more civil."

On the 16th Mr. Croker described how the unlucky Prince was "so earnest in imputing his retirement to a personal opposition on the part of his colleague"—Sir George—that the latter felt it due to himself to have the Duke informed that he did not stand alone, and that if he had been forced to retire, three others, including Mr. Croker, would have done so. On which a new surprise took place, and the odd Duke instantly sent for Sir George, told him that this made a vast difference, "that he had no longer any enmity to him, and begged to shake hands with him." He then called the other lords, who sided with Sir George, into his private room, applauded him "for his manly conduct," and hoped all three would come and dine with him! Mr. Croker was left out, and fancied that he was now

to become the Duke's *bête noire*, "for he must have one." The Duke announced, also, "that he was delighted at being out, that he looked on a flag-officer as being much higher than a Lord High Admiral."

The Duke of Wellington fancied he had discovered the secret of these capricious charges. The Prince was directed by his secretary, Captain Spencer. "It is Captain Spencer, or rather Lady Spencer, who does all the mischief," said His Majesty, "and my poor brother is the victim." "He is quite right," adds the Duke.

The matter was, however, by no means at an end. The King, who really loved his brother, and was perhaps moved by his affectionate letters, was persuaded by the Duke's friends that his painful recognition was unavoidable owing to the terms of the patent, which restricted him in a manner unknown to other patents of the kind. One of the royal doctors instantly drove off with the news of his reconciliation with Cockburn to Windsor, which the King, ever impressionable, thought removed a good deal of the obstacles. Captain Spencer was sent for to give the further explanations. His Majesty, in a conversation with Captain Spencer, of which "notes" were shown about, declared that "this new state of things should be somehow made known to the Duke of Wellington. He thought it due to all parties, and to his Grace as minister, that his Grace should undertake that, unless the patent was altered so as to give His Royal Highness more power, he could not with propriety hold the situation." His Majesty also observed that with the minister's view of the patent, the Lord High Admiral would scarcely have as much power as a first commoner.

Rumours getting abroad of this intrigue, ministers became a little alarmed. It had been remarked that

when the Duke resigned he gave orders for the removal of his effects "with more precipitation than was necessary," but now everything was suspended, even the hurried shower of promotions in which he had been indulging.

The Duke of Wellington, however, wrote in very plain terms to His Majesty declining to recommend altering the patent, and put the whole thing aside. Lord Melville was named as the new chief of the Admiralty. The Duke was determined to have no more worry or scandal.

"This is the last chapter of the history of His Royal Highness the Lord High Admiral," wrote Mr. Croker on the 19th August. He then gives the following pleasant sketch of the scene for the entertainment of his friend the Duke of Wellington :

"He (the Lord High Admiral) came to town to-day about noon with the intention, so we were told, of seeing us all and of taking leave ; but he only saw two or three. To Mr. Barrow he gave, with very high compliments, a very handsome silver inkstand. This was intended, like His Royal Highness's great civility to me two months ago, to mark his displeasure to others. When he was so gracious to me it was accompanied by innuendoes against Cockburn, and now his kindness to Barrow is made in the same way with allusions to me.

"The patent arrived about three o'clock, and I immediately sent Spencer to receive it, as Spencer had told me that His Royal Highness had desired *him* to bring it in, instead of me, whose duty it was. His Royal Highness then sent for Barrow to give him the cabinet key, which he had received from me, and which should have been returned to me. When five o'clock came, and His Royal Highness showed that he did not

intend to come into the council-room or send for us, Cockburn thought it respectful to send, saying, that His Royal Highness not having sent for us, we did not wish to intrude upon him, but that we were all in attendance to pay our duty, if he should think fit to admit us. To this, after a long pause, he replied, through Spencer, that he felt towards us as he did when we last met ; but that as an interview could not but be painful, he would rather postpone it for the present ; and he soon after set off for Bushey."

It is infinitely to the Lord High Admiral's credit that, when he became King, he appointed Sir George Cockburn to the American station in the room of Admiral Colpoys. When Sir James Graham sent for him to announce his appointment, he told him that he was indebted for it *solely* to the earnest wish and interference of the King ; and that they would never have appointed him themselves, as he was such a bitter opponent.

It may be conceived from this episode that there was little cordiality between the Duke and the Secretary to the Admiralty. This clever, bitter man was likely to return enmity with full measure ; and a story that was in circulation shows how artfully he could seize an opportunity of doing mischief with an adroitly aimed shaft.

He was one day at the Pavilion, when the Duke of Clarence was there. The King was in the drawing-room, the Duke of Clarence and some others formed a group at a table conversing about the navy. On some remarks made by Mr. Croker, the Duke said : "Croker, were I King, I'd be my own First Lord of the Admiralty, and you should *not* be my secretary ;" to which Croker answered : "Then I must do the best I can now I am—

secretary; but does your Royal Highness recollect what King of England was his own First Lord of the Admiralty?" The Duke replied in the negative. "Why, it was James II." said Croker, in his pert manner. The King, hearing the laugh, said: "What, Croker, what is that? One of your good things, I suppose?" "Nothing, but your royal brother is saying what he will do *when your Majesty is no longer King.*" The King walked away, making no reply. But Mr. Croker received a reprimand before he left the next morning.

Thus the matter happily concluded, and the Lord High Admiral ceased to hold office. The whole offers a curious revelation of character and evidence of a certain aberration of mind which seemed to visit him on coming into sudden possession of authority, just as it did when he became King. It is interesting to note the good-natured tolerance with which his erratic behaviour was indulged, and with what firmness and moderation the point was gained.

We pass over the next two years, when we find the Duke, on the eve of the King's illness, writing with a portentous significance, as though he forecasted his own coming importance.

DUKE OF CLARENCE TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

"Bushey House, Feb. 30, 1830.

"My LORD DUKE,

"I am favoured with your Grace's letter of this day, including the speech of the Lords Commissioners to be to-morrow delivered at the opening of Parliament. I have read it with the greatest attention, and most highly approve of it in every particular. I am also sensible of your Grace's polite consideration of informing

me that in the Lords the Duke of Buccleuch will move, and the Lord Saltoun second, the Address ; and that in the Commons the Earl of Darlington moves and Mr. Ward seconds the Address. These four individuals are equally satisfactory to me from their respective situations in the Empire at large.

" With these sentiments you will not be surprised in my request that a proxy may be sent to me here to sign, for the Lord Chancellor to hold in my name. For the present *I shall not* attend. But, in the event of any peculiar attack on the King's Government, I shall certainly take the same line I did last year, and decidedly and in the most public manner support the confidential advisers of the Crown.

" I remain, etc.,

" CLARENCE."

## CHAPTER XV.

It had been known for some time that the health of the King was giving way, though such was the strange and mysterious seclusion in which he had been living, that he might almost be considered to have abdicated. In the middle of April it was known that he was ill, and whispers got abroad that this illness was of a serious kind. His faithful secretary, Sir William Knighton, being presumed to be able to furnish the most authentic information, daily received communications from the different members of the royal family, and the Duke of Clarence—then residing at Bushey House—was naturally eager to have the earliest news. His naïve disposition allowed as much of curiosity as of affectionate solicitude to escape him in these earnest inquiries.

THE DUKE OF CLARENCE TO SIR W. KNIGHTON.

“April 16, 1830, 9 p.m.

“DEAR SIR,

“Yours of this afternoon has this moment reached me, and is, I am sorry to say, not what I could have wished. The vomiting I do not like. However, thank God, His Majesty since that time has been tranquil. I am glad to hear the King thinks himself better; so

far is comfortable, and I therefore trust that your anxiety and love for the best of masters and sovereigns makes you consider too highly the single symptom. I must be anxious to have the report of to-morrow of Sir Henry Halford, and trust in God it may be favourable.

"Under the present circumstances of the King's state, I have only to repeat my anxious wishes for that amendment which gratitude of fifty-nine years' standing calls me to express from the bottom of my heart.

"I remain, dear Sir, yours truly,  
"WILLIAM."

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

"Bushey House, April 18, 1830, 9 p.m.

"DEAR SIR,

"I have this instant received yours of to-day from Windsor Castle, and lament the report is not more favourable. I dislike still more your expression 'that your anxiety is not lessened.' I know your sincere attachment to our beloved monarch, and, unfortunately, I am too well acquainted with your abilities in the medical line not to dread your anxiety for our much-esteemed and valuable King. I shall wait with impatience the statement from Sir Henry Halford to-morrow. God grant it may be such as I wish! In the meantime, adieu, and ever believe me,

"Dear Sir, yours truly,  
"WILLIAM."

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

"Bushey House, April 21, 1830, 3 p.m.

"DEAR SIR,

"I have just received yours 'most secret and confidential' of this day, which I properly value.—

"On the whole, the account, thank God, is favourable; and God grant it may continue so, and that on Friday I may have the happiness and satisfaction of finding our beloved sovereign in a progressive state of improvement. I shall be at the Castle a few minutes before one; and I value most highly and gratefully the kind expressions of the King, and I also thank you gratefully for the expressions that accompany from yourself His Majesty's gracious message to me. I cannot forget the uninterrupted friendship that has subsisted between the King and me for nine-and-fifty years; and I trust, from the bottom of my heart, I shall really find, next Friday, the best of brothers, masters, and men advancing in a favourable way, and your comprehensive and affectionate mind far more easy upon the 'single symptom' which produces with you so much painful anxiety. You may rely on my perfect and complete silence.

"And I now remain, dear Sir, yours truly,  
"WILLIAM."

## THE SAME TO THE SAME.

"Bushey House, May 1, 1830.

"DEAR SIR,

"I am to acknowledge yours 'most secret and confidential,' and perfectly understand your silence, as Sir H. Halford daily reported the state of our beloved monarch. Of course I was aware the King had yesterday seen the Princesses, and am not surprised weakness ensued. I am glad the difficulty of breathing is less the last two days, and I therefore trust in God His Majesty will ultimately do well. I highly appreciate the constant attendance of Sir H. Halford and Sir M. Tierney, and shall anxiously wait the reports of Sir Henry, which

God grant may be favourable ! I most heartily and earnestly join with you in prayer that the Almighty may give me in particular, and all His Majesty's loving subjects, the happiness and comfort of looking to the prosperous termination of this very severe illness.

“ Ever believe me, dear Sir,

“ Yours truly,

“ WILLIAM.”

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

“ Bushey House, May 2, 1830.

“ Half-past 5 p.m.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ Yours ‘most secret and confidential,’ and, unfortunately, ‘most lamentable,’ has just reached me. The only consolation I have, is to know that I have the approbation of the best of sovereigns and brothers, and at the same time the gratitude of my brother Adolphus, for taking charge of his son, whom I will consider quite as my own. I shall write to that effect to-morrow to Hanover.

“ Every other part of your letter is indeed a dagger to my heart. Since May 2, 1771, has the Prince of Wales, the Prince Regent, and the King of this country, my eldest brother, treated me with unvaried affection and friendship, and I must and do feel his last days are arriving.

“ I cannot say more on this most truly painful subject. Still, however, whilst life lasts there is hope ; and God grant the life of our beloved master and friend may yet be spared !

“ I shall be most anxious to hear to-morrow, and ever remain,

“ Dear Sir, yours truly,

“ WILLIAM.”

It is plain that His Royal Highness, though he was sincerely and affectionately attached to his brother, had become excited by the prospect of his own approach to sovereignty. This was shown in a sort of feverish eagerness to learn details, an anxious watching of those who obtained access to the King, and in even a little anticipation of future arrangements. In this view he opened communications with the Duke of Wellington, whose straightforward military nature disdained even to notice the appearance of intrigue. The correspondence is a curious one, and reveals character in an odd way. It also gives an idea of what the labours of a Prime Minister are in a crisis, even in the duty of answering innumerable letters which *must* be answered.

## THE DUKE OF CLARENCE TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

"My DEAR DUKE,

"April 27, 1830.

"I have this instant received your Grace's letter of this day, and can perfectly understand the verbal communications of Sir Matthew Tierney. The non-arrival of Sir H. Halford I do not like, and I shall therefore feel the more obliged to your Grace for any information received in the course of the day from Windsor. In the critical state of His Majesty, the oftener you can find time to proceed to Windsor the better.

"I remain, etc.,

"CLARENCE."

## THE SAME TO THE SAME.

"My LORD DUKE,

"April 29, 1830.

"In answer to your letter of this day I have to acknowledge the receipt of this morning's bulletin,

which, I lament to say, does not give me satisfaction. To the "Private and Confidential" of this morning, I am to remark, that perhaps the firing of the Port and Tower guns, and the great officers of State giving their usual dinners, may be a prudent measure. But I am glad to find that your Grace is of the same opinion as myself, that neither the Duchess nor myself should at present appear either in London or at public amusements. Your Grace may rest assured that we are eventually to dine with your Grace, should it please Almighty God to restore His Majesty to his people, though your Grace would not see the King; but I trust your Grace will continue to proceed to Windsor when public affairs will permit of the absence of the ministers for some hours from London. The critical situation of the sovereign must make me think seriously; and I consider it is a fortunate circumstance I see the true objects contained in the last letter, as your Grace does, and I think, during the continuance of His Majesty's illness, our sentiments will agree; for I must look to your Grace in that event which would involve me and the empire at large in grief for the loss of the best and most amiable of monarchs. But I am lamentably afraid of the worst, which God avert.

"I am, my Lord Duke,  
"Yours very truly,  
"WILLIAM."

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

"May 1, 1830.

"**MY LORD DUKE,**

"I have this instant received your Grace's letter from Windsor Castle, and the bulletins, which, though certainly different from what I wished, relative to the

passing of the night, does not surprise me, as His Majesty was much affected with his interview with the Princess Augusta and the Duchess of Gloucester. They left the King exhausted and uneasy about himself.

"I remain, etc."

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

"May 3.

"My LORD DUKE,

"I am just returned from riding, and found your Grace's letter of 2 p.m. this day; and however much I do and must lament the state of His Majesty, I dread it can only end fatally. I know not what more to say than that I put my confidence in the will of God, and am fully aware of the medical abilities of those who have the painful honour of witnessing the alarming illness of the King.

"I remain, etc."

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

"May 4.

"My LORD DUKE,

"In answer to your Grace's letter of 1.45 of this day, I am sadly afraid the King continues very unwell still, and has not regained where His Majesty was last Friday. In short, I candidly own to your Grace I dread the ultimate event, though the case may linger. I most highly approve of your Grace's visit to-morrow to Windsor Castle, and shall be most anxious for the report from thence.

"I remain, my Lord Duke."

It is curious to note his eagerness that the Duke should go to Windsor.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

“ May 7.

“ My LORD DUKE,

“ I sincerely rejoice the King has passed the last four-and-twenty hours easier and with more comfort. I shall be anxious for the report of your Grace to-morrow, from Windsor. I can only repeat, so long as the King continues indisposed, I trust your Grace will go to Windsor whenever the public concerns will allow your Grace.

“ I remain.”

His suspicions of the other visitors—his relations—are shown in the next.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

“ May 8.

“ My LORD DUKE,

“ Your Grace's letter of to-day, from Windsor, has just reached me, and I rejoice to hear the King looks well and is in good spirits. I am surprised the Duchess was sent for, and hope her visit, and the unnecessary intrusion of the Duke of Cumberland with his son, may not injure His Majesty. The Duchess of Gloucester dined with me here yesterday, and informed me that neither she nor Princess Augusta would go to Windsor unless sent for. I admire your Grace's delicacy and consideration in not seeing His Majesty after the visitors who will have been introduced this day, when I trust no harm may ensue.

“ I remain.”

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

“ May 9.

“ My LORD DUKE,

“ I am not astonished His Majesty was unwell after having seen his favourite sister; but it is—with

real concern I see, by your Grace's letter of this day, that the King has been very unwell. I shall, of course, be anxious for the report of to-morrow, and remain, etc."

## THE SAME TO THE SAME.

"May 11.

"My LORD DUKE,

"I am to acknowledge the letter of your Grace of this day, and fully coincide in opinion with your Grace that, notwithstanding the comfortable day of yesterday, and the quiet night, His Majesty is not better this morning. I feel satisfaction in hearing your Grace proceeds to Windsor Castle to-morrow, when I am afraid the King will not be found at all better, because this day he has appointed to see Princess Augusta and the Duchess of Gloucester. These interviews produce harm instead of good; and, unfortunately, my sisters have not the power to retain their feelings, and these meetings only tend to increase the sufferings of His Majesty.

"I remain."

## THE SAME TO THE SAME.

"May 14.

"My LORD DUKE,

"I understand the punctures made on the King's feet on Monday have given great pain, and of course occasioned want of sleep at night. During the very precarious state of His Majesty, I shall always hear with pleasure of your Grace's visit to Windsor, and shall, of course, be anxious for the report of your Grace from thence.

"I remain."

This confidential strain was leading up to premature political approaches, and the eagerness of the impulsive Prince led him into a highly indiscreet course. He was so foolish as to make a proposal to the Duke—which the latter thus related to Mr. Greville.

"I was in constant communication with the present King for a month before George IV. died. George IV. was for a month quite as bad as this King, and I sent the Duke of Clarence the bulletins every day, and besides wrote to him the private accounts I received, and what is very odd, I had a quarrel with him in the course of this. He constantly wrote to me, and in one of his letters he told me he meant to make me his minister. I felt this was a very awkward subject for me to enter upon, and that I could not, being the minister of the King, with any propriety treat with his successor, so I resolved to take no notice whatever of this part of his letter, and I did not. He was very indignant at this, and complained to his friends (to Lord Cassilis, for instance) that I had behaved very rudely to him. When I met him—for I met him constantly at Windsor, and in the King's room—he was very cold in his manner, but I took no notice, and went on as before."

Just before the King's death took place, the Duke of Wellington wrote a curious letter to Sir R. Peel on the new politics opening, showing that the Duke of Clarence was already making his arrangements. "Lord Grey," the Duke writes, "must be informed of the Duke of Clarence's inclination to have his services," though he, the Duke, did not think it would bring any strength. He would not sit with Lord Palmerston, Huskisson, or Grant. "I urge," he added, "that I

should take the opportunity of the King's death to retire, and let you come in."\*

In reference to this delicate matter we have also the testimony of Sir Henry Cooke, a well-informed agreeable man, writing to his friend, Lord Fitzgerald. Other portions of his letter, being gay and lively, and presenting a little sketch of society, will be found interesting.

"I have it from undoubted authority," wrote this gentleman, "that the conduct of the Duke throughout this illness has been so kind, so upright, so delicate and sincere towards the King, that His Majesty, who is very susceptible, has manifested the strongest gratitude and attachment towards the Duke. It seems that the Duke has abstained from all intercourse of a political character with the Duke of Clarence, treating with manifest coldness all such approaches on the part of the Duke of Clarence's friends or agents as might bear the impress even of intrigue.

"As betting is the feature of public opinion in this country, I will inform you that now the general bet is that Clarence is in a strait-waistcoat before the King dies.

"Lord Londonderry is giving a series of balls and fine things with my lady on a throne, sinking over £80,000 of jewels, to establish a sort of *brevets* to lead her world. We have large dinners in the Regent's Park of forty covers, with a *macédoine* of society every week. I never could guess the motive of this peculiar mixture of women whom none wish to cultivate, and *roturiers* who, it would seem, were intended to fill up sudden gaps, were they not too numerous for such a chance.

"Mrs. Cadogan *fait des frais* to dispose of the girl

\* Despatches, etc.

Lazarus, arose blooming in comparison with her quick-silver countenance. The very atmosphere seems to render her a living barometer, but I despair of seeing her *set fair*. The timid form is a great feature in our select circle; he sticks to us like a cataplasm, *but does not draw*.

"Raikes has returned among us, or rather the clubs and Crockford's, with increased quantum of shirt-frill and breast-button. I guess there will be great demand for such goods. There is a great struggle to keep Almack's alive. Stock—I mean ewe stock—meets no sale there. They run them up and down, and show their paces to no purpose. In fact, scarce a bargain is struck."

The event so long expected took place on the morning of June 26, when an express was dispatched to Bushey announcing to the Duke that he was King of England.

## CHAPTER XVI.

ON the morning of the King's death, which was known to the ministers in London about eight o'clock, a Cabinet Council hastily met at half-past ten. One point discussed was what dress they were to appear in at the Privy Council to be held at noon. It was settled that all were to wear black. News however came that the King intended to wear his uniform. The result was, therefore, a most motley gathering of costumes at the Council, some appearing in uniform, others not.

There is always something dramatic in the first Council, on the accession of a new sovereign; in the hurry, the excitement, the novelty of the situation; and nothing too so painfully expresses the truth of the often quoted "*Le roi est mort, vive le roi!*"\*

"We waited a long time," says Lord Ellenborough, who was present, "before the Council met—almost two

\* "King William," says Stockmar, "succeeded to the English throne on June 26, 1830, at the age of sixty-five. Of a kindly, good-natured disposition and lively temperament, he was in no way distinguished either in character or intelligence. He owed his want of success as a politician, no less to his good qualities, than to the defects of his character. His powers of mind were not great enough to enable him to understand and weigh complicated questions; he was incapable, from the weakness of his character, of any determined resolution."

hours being occupied in audiences. The Duke of Wellington, Lord Bathurst, Rosslyn, the Chancellor, and Sir R. Peel went in together, and personally acquainted the King with the late King's death. The King said he might not have an opportunity of seeing that day the rest of his late Majesty's confidential servants; but he told those present that all had his confidence, and that they would receive his *entire, cordial, and determined support*. He told the Chancellor in a private audience not only the same thing, but that if at any time he should hear reports of his ceasing to place confidence in his Government, they were not to be believed. If he had any fault to find he would at once tell them. When the Duke and the others came out from the King we all went to the ball-room, where we began to sign the proclamation, and a few, the Royal Dukes and others, had signed, when we were called to the Privy Council room, where the King soon arrived, attended by the household of the late King. He took his seat, and read his declaration. He read it with much feeling, and it was well imagined, and will have a good effect. The Lord President entreated it might be printed."

The King addressed the Privy Council as follows :

"I am convinced you will fully participate in the affliction which I am suffering on account of the loss of a sovereign under whose auspices, as Regent and as King, this country has maintained during war, its ancient reputation and glory, has enjoyed a long period of happiness and internal peace, and has possessed the friendship, respect, and confidence of foreign Powers. In addition to that loss which I sustain in common with you, and with all who lived under the government of a most beneficent and gracious King, I have to lament the death of a beloved and affectionate brother, with whom

I have lived from my earliest years on terms of the most cordial and uninterrupted friendship, and to whose favour and kindness I have been most deeply indebted. After having passed my life in the service of my country, and having, I trust, uniformly acted as the most faithful subject and servant of the King, I am now called upon, under the dispensation of Almighty God, to administer the government of this great empire. I am fully sensible of the difficulties I have to encounter; but I possess the advantage of having witnessed the conduct of my revered father, and my lamented and beloved brothers; and I rely with confidence upon the advice and assistance of Parliament, and upon its zealous co-operation, in my anxious endeavours, under the blessing of Divine Providence, to maintain the reformed religion established by law, to protect the rights and liberties, and to promote the prosperity and happiness, of all classes of my people."\*

"I should have mentioned that before the King came in, the Council made the usual orders, with the addition of an order for defacing the late King's stamps, which was accordingly done by the clerk of the Council. When the declaration had been read the King took the Scotch oath in the usual form, the Lord-President reading it to him, and the King holding up his right hand. He then said it was a satisfaction to him to find such a Privy Council, and requested them all to take the oath.

"The King then retired, and the Council ordered as usual respecting the disposal of the late King's body.

"The Duke of Norfolk was there as Earl Marshal.

\* The Duke of Cumberland was absent; for by an extraordinary mistake, which he assumed to be intentional, the messenger had blundered about his address.

He observed he was the only person there who was not a Privy Councillor, and expressed a wish to be one. The Duke mentioned it to the King, who readily assented. He observed there had been no Duke of Norfolk a member of the Privy Council since the time of James II., and that that Duke of Norfolk was a Protestant. The Duke of Norfolk, however, will consider the oath before he takes it. He would have taken the Earl Marshal's oath to-day, but it was not there.

"Wood told me the King had *rehearsed his declaration* to him, Sir Ch. Pole, and Lord Errol, before he went into the Privy Council.

"There was no grief in the room in which we waited. It was like an ordinary *levée*."

Mr. Greville, who was also present at the scene, describes a grotesque incident arising out of what he happily calls the burlesque character of the King. "He spoke of his brother with all the semblance of feeling, and in a tone of voice properly softened and subdued; but just afterwards, when they gave him the pen to sign the declaration, he said, in his usual tone: '*This is a damned bad pen you have given me.*' My worthy colleague, Mr. James Buller, began to swear Privy Councillors in the name of 'King George IV.—William, I mean,' to the great diversion of the Council."

On the following day, June 28th, His Majesty showed himself at St. James's Palace, going to a large window looking into the court-yard, and stood forward. The King's band played "God save the King," and those who were there cheered, upon which numbers of people came round from before the Palace and filled the court-yard. They then cheered well.

To Lord Ellenborough he said he should go down to Bushey soon, and as he was living near he would

have him over at eleven o'clock some morning, and give him some hours to make him acquainted with the state of India. He then expressed "apprehension of Russia." Many of his remarks were characteristic, and already began to excite grave misgivings.

Thus Lord Bathurst had to change a sheriff. The King, when he heard the name of the new one (sheriff of Suffolk, I think), said : "*He is a Whig.*" Lord Bathurst said : "He is a very good man, I believe, sir, and is recommended by the Duke of Grafton." "Oh!" said the King, "I do not mean to say it is wrong ; only remember, *he is a Whig.*"

The funeral of the late King offered a sad instance of the speedy forgetfulness of the dead. This has been often moralised upon ; but in this instance, the defunct Prince, and all connected with him, were disposed of almost to general enjoyment. The late Mr Charles Knight often recalled the gala character of the day.

"A gayer company," says Mr. Greville, "I never beheld ; with the exception of Mountcharles, who was deeply affected, they were all as merry as grigs. The King was chief mourner, and, to my astonishment, as he entered the chapel directly behind the body, he darted up to Strathaven, who was ranged on one side below the Dean's stall, shook him heartily by the hand, and then went on nodding to the right and left. He had previously gone as chief mourner to sit for an hour at the head of the body as it lay in state, and he walked in procession with his household to the apartment. When Lord Jersey preceded him with the white wand, he said : 'Go on to the body, Jersey, and you will get your dress coat as soon as you can.'"

"The day, which was July 15, was beautiful, and," says Lord Ellenborough, "all the world made it a holiday.

Carriages of all sorts and hackney coaches were on the road all the morning to Richmond. We went to St. George's Hall, where we all assembled. A great many were already come. They began forming the procession at half-past seven, and it was all formed so as to move before nine. There were ten or twelve barons, a number of judges, six or eight bishops, and upon the whole a fair representation of the peerage and the Privy Council. There was a double line of Life Guardsmen within the castle, without Foot Guards, and the Blues in the chapel. We did not see the body as we passed. A screen of black concealed the room in which it lay in state. It struck nine as we came to the Round Tower. A rocket was fired as soon as the body moved, to give notice for the firing of the minute guns. The bands of the several regiments played the Dead March in Saul, etc., as the procession passed. The Foot Guards stood close together with arms reversed, every fifth man having a flambeau. The platform was, in most places, open on both sides. There was a good deal of air, but the night was warm. Had there been rain, or had it been cold, some must have died. There were but few people on the right of the platform in the inner court, but in the outer court there was a dense mass of people, and all the roofs were covered. There was hardly a whisper. All the people seemed very decent in their dress, and their conduct was perfect. The procession entered at the great door of the chapel and turned to the left, went down to the end of the aisle and then turned, facing the door of the inner chapel. In the space we thus went round were the Eton boys. In the chapel there were some persons on the right of the altar. I could not well see who they were, as there was a sort of haze, but they were all in uniform. With this exception the

chapel was empty. We were all placed as we entered in the seats and stalls. The body was drawn upon a carriage. It was too heavy to be carried. The King had a vast number of attendants, such as equerries, etc. Half of them captains in the navy. The attendants pressed rather too close upon him. He was in black, with the collars of all the Orders. He nodded occasionally as he recognised people; but when his countenance was still he looked very grave. He is become very like his father. The last who entered were the Guard, the colours preceding. These came half way into the aisle, the colours depressed. The banners were depressed on the two sides of the grave. Over the grave was a black canopy, on the top of which was an enormous crown. The music was good. The service was very ill-read by the Dean Hobart, and the Garter could not make himself heard when he recited the King's titles. Lord Jersey walked as Lord Chamberlain, Lord Conyngham as Steward. He broke his staff into the grave. Lord Cholmondeley was there as Lord Great Chamberlain, and sat on the left of the aisle in a stall opposite the passage. The magnificence of the castle aided the spectacle and made royalty appear almost as imposing in death as at the moment when the Crown was assumed in the Abbey. We had supper and they all went to London." Some singular descriptions of the confusion at Windsor, of the holiday folks who had gone down for a junketing, will be found in Mr. C. Knight's "Recollections," and in Huish's "Life of George IV."

Of course all the movements of a new King are construed indulgently, and receive abundant praise. The present King's activity and attention to business were said to "astonish every one. It was confidently

stated that he rose at six in the morning, and got through despatches and other documents with incredible celerity." A handsome act of condescension to the veteran Lord Eldon was also reported. The King had been on indifferent terms with the Lord Chancellor, who shortly afterwards went with the Bishop of Bristol to the Palace with an address. "After it had been presented," Lord Eldon states, "as I was passing, the King stopped me, and said, 'My lord, political parties and feelings have run very high, and I am afraid I have made observations upon your lordship, which now—' Here Lord Eldon interrupted him, begging His Majesty's pardon, and saying he could not permit the language of apology to come from the lips of his sovereign."

This veteran, however, looked with misgiving on some of the royal "antics." "I hear," he writes to his brother, "the condescensions of the King are beginning to make him unpopular. In that station such familiarity must produce the destruction of respect. If the people don't continue to think a king somewhat more than a man, they will soon find out that he is not an object of that high respect which is absolutely necessary to the utility of his character."

The incidents connected with the office of Lord High Admiral had not unnaturally left a bitter feeling in his mind towards the Duke of Wellington; but this, with much magnanimity, he dismissed from his mind on coming to the throne, when he exhibited a true cordiality and friendship to the Duke.\*

\* After the King's death, the Duke bore handsome testimony to this treatment. "Notwithstanding," he said, "I had been under the necessity of opposing His late Majesty while Duke of Clarence, when employed in a high situation under Government, by taking measures

The early days of the accession were celebrated by great festivities at Windsor, and numerous dinner parties, on such a scale as to cause alarm to the Treasurer of the Household, Sir W. Freemantle, to whom his Majesty gave an invitation for the Duke of Buckingham, saying : "I wish you to tell the Duke I shall be most happy to see him" (at the birthday dinner), "but, being settled at Stowe, if he should have made any arrangement for that day, or if he should have the slightest apprehension of gout, I beg he will have no difficulty in making his excuses. I would not invite so large a company without including the Duke of Buckingham, but he must not consider it *an order*. I really wish him to consult entirely his own convenience. The dress," he added, "is frock, but whether mourning is put off for the day I cannot say.

which led to His Royal Highness's resignation of that office, that was far from causing any coldness in His Majesty when he came to the throne, for he employed me in his service, and ever treated me with the greatest tenderness, condescension, confidence, and favour, that so long as I live I never can forget." It is to be feared that George IV. was not so magnanimous in forgetting offences as his brother. It seems certain that he could not forgive Brummel, and a letter which has been lately sent me by the descendant of one of his old favourites, Mr. Scott, bears this out in a striking way :

" My father's quarrel with the Prince of Wales arose from my father's indiscretion. I think that it was at White's Club that he mentioned his having been present when His Royal Highness was undergoing a process invented by his coiffeur, who applied to his bald head not a toupet or wig, but locks of hair glued to the skin. An ill-natured listener repeated this to the Prince, who never forgave my father.

" When I was appointed Attaché to Buenos Ayres, in 1826, my father accompanied me to England, and on stopping a few hours at Calais, he took me to see Beau Brummel, who lived there in a miserable lodging. It seemed to me they were intimate friends, as they called each other by their Christian names.

" I forgot in what year George IV. crossed the Channel—for the

The invitations already amount to nearly ninety persons. Since His Majesty has been at Windsor there have seldom been less than forty at dinner. I am in dread at the expense, but Watson assures me that every attention is paid to keep down expense, and at the same time to preserve regularity in our accounts."

The Government were alive to this subject of royal extravagance, on the ground of the embarrassment caused by the follies of the late King in this direction. Returns from the various offices were being called for. We find the same official, writing rather nervously, that "The entertainments which continue, and are likely to do so, naturally engage our attention with regard to expense, and most particularly so from the hints

first time in his life—on his way to visit his kingdom of Hanover, but my father and several other consuls in France went to Calais to greet His Majesty. My father was in the crowd of persons when the King landed, and, as he bowed to all, he recognised my father, and said: 'Ah! Harry, I congratulate you upon the lot of hair on your head, though it is nearly white,' or some words to that effect; but he took no further notice of him."

The following letter to the discarded favourite was written over twenty years before :

"C. St., Saturday night, February 14th, 1807.

"**MY DEAR HARRY,**

"I am quite ashamed at not having had it in my power to keep my engagement at your house this day, and what is, if possible, worse, at the not having acquainted you in time, that it was quite impossible for me to do so. The truth is, that I was detained the whole morning at home, waiting for Adam, who did not arrive till past three o'clock, and who then stayed three hours with me. However, as to-morrow is a day of rest, and as I do not foresee the probability of my being plagued with any particular business, I think that I can with safety promise to be at your house between two and three o'clock, if that hour should be convenient. Till then, adieu. Let me have a line in answer.

"Ever very affectionately yours,

"GEORGE P."

which we receive from Government. It is clear that the Treasury is preparing a statement of the Civil List for the meeting of Parliament, and in your return of the state of the Lord Steward's department I am extremely anxious that the fullest possible explanation should be made by the Lord Steward in his return. This in fairness towards the Government, who will have to fight the battle, and therefore must be fully and completely seconded and supported by us. As far as we can at present see to expenses incurred, it really appears (and we have examined—that is, Watson and myself—every possible charge) that in the first month of this reign, notwithstanding all the dinners and entertainments, that our expenditure has not been equal to that of the corresponding month of last year. In truth, dinners are not the most alarming of expenses, provided we can but maintain some degree of honesty in the servants and purveyors; and as yet we have no reason to distrust our new men, most particularly Macfarlane."

Already the most extraordinary stories were in circulation as to the King's restlessness, strange speeches, and general delight with his situation.

"I can fancy nothing," says the acute observer of these early days, "like his delight at finding himself in the state coach surrounded by all his pomp. In his private carriage he continues to sit backwards, and when he goes with men makes one sit by him and not opposite to him. Yesterday, after the House of Lords, he drove all over the town in an open calèche with the Queen, Princess Augusta, and the King of Würtemberg, and coming home he set down the King (*dropped him*, as he calls it) at Grillon's Hotel. The Queen, they say, is by no means delighted at her elevation. She likes quiet and retirement and Bushey

(of which the King has made her Ranger), and does not want to be a Queen. He says he does not want luxury and magnificence, has slept in a cot, and he dismissed the King's cooks, 'renversé la marmite.' Altogether he seems a kind-hearted, well-meaning, not stupid, burlesque, bustling old fellow, and if he doesn't go mad may make a very decent King, but he exhibits oddities." Meanwhile he was winning popularity by various gracious acts—throwing open Windsor Castle, long barricaded to the public, showing himself to the people, etc. He was fond of these sort of harangues, and eagerly seized on every opportunity of making one. He would "alarm and pain" his Council, and the Duke often had to cover his face from shame.

"The King," adds Mr. Greville, "has been exhibiting some symptoms of a disordered mind, reviewing the Guards and *blowing up* people at Court. He made the Guards, both horse and foot, perform their evolutions before him; he examined their barracks, clothes, arms, and accoutrements, and had a musket brought to him, that he might show them the way to use it in some new sort of exercise he wanted to introduce."

One of these expeditions was to inspect the Tower. A lady who was present gives the following rather vivacious sketch of the royal pair:

"The King is a little old, red-nosed, weather-beaten, jolly-looking person, with an ungraceful air and carriage; and as to the Duke of Sussex, what with his stiff collar and cocked hat bobbing over his face, nothing could be seen of him but his nose. He seemed quite overcome with heat, and went along puffing and panting with the great fat Duchess of Cumberland leaning on his arm. The Queen is even worse than I thought—a little insignificant person as ever I saw. She was dressed, as

perhaps you will see by the papers, ‘exceedingly plain,’ in bombazine, with a little shabby muslin collar, dyed Leg-horn hat, and leather shoes.”

The King thus appeared to be so intoxicated with his new-found power, that he was led in many extravagances and rather ridiculous exhibitions, which even began to excite serious doubts as to his sanity. It was curious that when, of late, he had found himself in any situation of authority, his head and self-restraint seemed to give way. It was so when he was Lord High Admiral. Mr. Greville, in his now familiar memoirs, gives further graphic sketches of him at this crisis.

“The present King and his proceedings occupy all attention, and nobody thinks any more of the late King than if he had been dead fifty years, unless it be to abuse him and to rake up all his vices and misdeeds. Never was elevation like that of King William IV. His life has been hitherto passed in obscurity and neglect, in miserable poverty, surrounded by a numerous progeny, without consideration or friends, and he was ridiculous from his grotesque ways and little meddling curiosity. Nobody ever invited him into their house, or thought it necessary to honour him with any mark of attention or respect; and so he went on for above forty years, till Canning brought him into notice by making him Lord High Admiral. He then dropped back into obscurity, but had become by this time somewhat more of a personage than he was before. His brief administration of the navy, the death of the Duke of York, which made him heir to the throne, his increased wealth and regular habits, had procured him more consideration, though not a great deal. Such was his position when George IV. broke all at once, and after three months of expectation William finds himself King.

"He proposed to all the Household, as well as to the members of the Government, to keep their places, which they all did except Lord Conyngham and the Duke of Montrose."

Some scenes and sketches of a highly grotesque character are drawn by this same vivacious artist. But it is only fair to add that this was but a temporary over-set, and the intoxication of the moment. After a few months he grew accustomed to his position, and ceased to astonish the town with his eccentricities. "In the morning (July 30), he inspected the Coldstream Guards, dressed (for the first time in his life) in a military uniform and with a great pair of gold spurs halfway up his legs like a game-cock, although he was not to ride, for having chalk-stones in his hands he can't hold the reins."

But his expeditions through the public streets are thus recalled:

"In Pall Mall he met Watson Taylor, and took his arm and went up St. James's Street. There he was soon followed by a mob making an uproar, and when he got near White's a woman (an Irishwoman) came up and kissed him. Belfast, who saw this from White's, and Clinton thought it time to interfere, and came out to attend upon him. The mob increased, and always holding W. Taylor's arm, and flanked by Clinton and Belfast, who got shoved and kicked about to their inexpressible wrath, he got back to the Palace amid shouting and bawling and applause."

These exhibitions tempted Charles Lamb into one of his few political epigrams :

#### THE ROYAL WONDERS.

Two miracles at once ! Compell'd by fate,  
His tarnish'd throne the Bourbon doth vacate ;  
While English William—a diviner thing—  
Of his free pleasure doth put off the king ;

The forms of distant old respect lets pass,  
And melts his crown into the common mass.  
Health to fair France and fine regeneration!  
But England's is the nobler abdication.

Perhaps the most amusing of these scenes, and described by Mr. Greville with a pleasant vivacity, was the impromptu dinner at the Duke of Wellington's.

"On July 25th, or the evening before, he announced to the Duke of Wellington that he should dine with him on that day; accordingly the Duke was obliged, in the midst of preparations for his breakfast, to get a dinner ready for him. In the morning he took the King of Würtemberg to Windsor, and just at the hour when the Duke expected him to dinner he was driving through Hyde Park back from Windsor—three barouches-and-four, the horses dead knocked up, in the front the two Kings, Jersey, and somebody else, all covered with dust. The whole mob of carriages and horsemen assembled near Apsley House to see him pass, and to wait till he returned. The Duke, on hearing he was there, rushed down without his hat, and stood in his gate in the middle of servants, mob, etc., to see him pass. He drove to Grillon's, 'to drop' the King of Würtemberg, and at a quarter past eight he arrived at Apsley House. There were about forty-five men, no women, half the Ministers, most of the foreign Ministers, and a mixture rather indiscriminate. I went afterwards to Crockford's, where I found Matuscewitz, who gave me a whole account of the dinner. The two Kings went out to dinner arm-in-arm, the Duke followed; the King sat between the King of Würtemberg and the Duke. After dinner his health was drunk, to which he returned thanks, sitting, but briefly, and promised to say more by-and-by when he should give a toast. In process of time he desired Douro to go and tell the

band to play the merriest waltz they could for the toast he was about to give. He then gave 'The Queen of Würtemberg,' with many eulogiums on her and on the connubial felicity of her and the King; not a very agreeable theme for his host, for conjugal fidelity is not his forte. At length he desired Douro to go again to the band and order them to play 'See the conquering hero comes,' and then he rose. All the company rose with him, when he ordered everybody to sit down. Still standing, he said that he had been so short a time on the throne that he did not know whether etiquette required that he should speak sitting or standing, but, however this might be, he had been long used to speak on his legs, and should do so now; he then proposed the Duke's health, but prefaced it with a long speech—instigated a comparison between him and the Duke of Marlborough; went back to the reign of Queen Anne, and talked of the great support the Duke of Marlborough had received from the Crown, and the little support the Duke of Wellington had had in the outset of his career, though after the battle of Vimeiro he had been backed by all the energies of the country; that, notwithstanding his difficulties, his career had been one continued course of victory over the armies of France; and then recollecting the presence of Laval, the French Ambassador, he said, 'Remember, Duc de Laval, when I talk of victories over the French armies, they were not the armies of my ally and friend the King of France, but of him who had usurped his throne, and against whom you yourself were combating;' then going back to the Duke's career, and again referring to the comparison between him and Marlborough, and finishing by advertising to his political position, that he had on mounting the throne found the Duke Minister, and that he had

retained him because he thought his administration had been and would be highly beneficial to the country; that he gave to him his fullest and most cordial confidence, and that he announced to all whom he saw around him, to all the Ambassadors and Ministers of foreign Powers, and to all the noblemen and gentlemen present, that as long as he should sit upon the throne he should continue to give him the same confidence. The Duke returned thanks in a short speech, thanking the King for his confidence and support, and declaring that all his endeavours would be used to keep this country in relations of harmony with other nations. The whole company stood aghast at the King's extraordinary speech and declaration. Matuscewitz told me he never was so astonished, that for the world he would not have missed it, and that he would never have believed in it if he had not heard it.

"Falck gave me a delightful account of the speech and of Laval. He thought, not understanding one word, that all the King was saying was complimentary to the King of France and the French nation, and he kept darting from his seat to make his acknowledgments, while Esterhazy held him down by the tail of his coat, and the King stopped him with his hand outstretched, all with great difficulty. He said it was very comical."

## CHAPTER XVII.

ONE of the earliest proceedings of the King was a tardy act of reparation to that strange adventurous character, Sir Robert Wilson, whose career, like that of so many others shows, that under so-called British "phlegm," there is a turn for daring, much exceeding what is found in other nations. The story of this wonderful man had been one chequered romance. He had been a traveller; he had served as a soldier of fortune, had assisted, characteristically, with a Scot and an Irishman in the escape of Lavalette, and on the occasion of the "Queen's funeral" had foolishly taken part with the mob, for which he was dismissed from the army. For many years he lay under this disgrace, when he was said, like so many extreme and excitable politicians, to have suddenly changed his principles. He became a Tory and admirer of the Duke of Wellington, and this year found him restored to his grade in the army, and also appointed commander of a regiment of Dragoons. This was probably owing to the good nature of the King.\*

\* "On the evening," says Mr. Raikes, "when we received news of the great victory of Waterloo, I dined with the present Lord and Lady Willoughby de Eresby in Piccadilly; there was a large party, among whom I remember Miss Mercer (now Madame de Flahault), Sir

One of the first difficulties of the new reign arose out of the fact that the King was childless, and the question of a Regency had to be settled at once. The heiress presumptive to the throne, as she had to be styled—though virtually she was heir apparent—was the young and interesting Princess Victoria, now living under the guardianship of her mother, the Duchess of Kent. Their relations to the Court were of a rather strained and unpleasant kind—a state of things that arose from several causes. The first was the antagonism of two factions, as they might be called. The King and

H. Cooke, and Sir R. Wilson, who entered the room with a grave portentous countenance, as if he knew more than he was willing to communicate.

When the ladies had retired and the wine had opened Sir R. Wilson's heart, he condescended to inform the company that he had received a private despatch from Brussels, announcing the total defeat of the Anglo-Prussian army by the French, with the additional circumstance that Napoleon, after his decided victory, had supped with the Prince d'Aremberg at his palace in that city. On doubts being expressed as to the correctness of his information, he offered readily to bet any sum on the strength of his despatches. We took him at his word: I betted with him £400 or £500, and others did the same to the amount of £1000.

There was a ball that night at Sir George Talbot's; and when I arrived there about eleven o'clock, I found the whole house in confusion and dismay; ladies calling for their carriages, and others fainting in the ante-room, particularly the Ladies Paget, who seemed in the utmost distress. The mystery, however, was soon cleared up; Lady Castlereagh had just made her appearance in the ball-room, with the official account of the battle, and a partial list of the killed and wounded, which had caused so much distress among the various relatives of the sufferers. She had been at a grand dinner given by Mrs. Boehm in St. James's Square, to the Prince Regent, during which Colonel Percy, having first driven to Carlton House, had arrived in a chaise and four at the house and presented to His Royal Highness, at table, the official despatches from the Duke of Wellington (recounting his victory), as well as the French eagles, which he had brought as trophies with him in the carriage.

Queen were in the hands of that large, illegitimate family of sons and daughters, whose peculiar position made them specially sensitive and jealous. Their father was old or elderly, in indifferent health, and they seemed determined to turn what might prove a short reign to as much profit as they could contrive. Again, the relations of the Duchess of Kent to the King and Queen were almost hostile ; the Duchess, feeling she was disliked, kept her young charge altogether away from Court. This abstention naturally embittered the situation, and the rival factions were not eager to smooth matters.

Mr. Greville gives an unpleasant picture of the greed and plottings of the King's family, whom he almost invariably designates by an antique but expressive term. They were eager for honours and promotions ; as the Duke of Wellington said, "to be all made dukes and duchesses," which, he considered, would not do. At the beginning the King had made three of his sons-in-law Knights of the Guelphic Order,\* besides making his eldest son Earl of Munster, and conferring lucrative offices on the other children. Even his son-in-law, Lord Errol, received a step in the peerage at the coronation. If we can trust Mr. Greville, the proceedings of these personages was encroaching and despotic to a degree ; ruling their father, and even intimidating him into paying their debts, etc. From the children of his brother, the Duke of Sussex (the unrecognised D'Estes), the King had also to suffer much worry, and when their recognition was still denied, the publication of the Duke's

\* The King was complaining to one of his admirals of the persecution he met with in this matter of honours. "I had at last," he said, "to make him a Guelphic Knight." "And serve him right, your Majesty," said the rough seaman.

letters to their mother caused further scandal and amazement.

In the organisation of his Court *entourage* the King's chief embarrassment was thus providing for his illegitimate family, nine in number, and whose claims were pushed in a most pressing fashion. The "Fitz-Clarences" were George, in the Army, and later created Earl of Munster; Frederick, also in the Army; Adolphus, an admiral in the Navy; and Augustus, who was in the Church. Of his daughters three made what are called good marriages: Sophia to Lord de L'Isle; Elizabeth to the Earl of Errol; and Amelia to Lord Falkland. The remaining daughters married: one Colonel Fox, another Mr. Erskine and secondly Mr. John Gordon.

It is curious to note that this recognition was accepted by the public with good-natured toleration; whether it was that "it was too old a story" now to cause any surprise. But it was certainly the first time since the days of Charles II., when these royal offsprings were ennobled.

The King's sons, according to their inveterate enemy, Mr. Greville, were now confederated together to add to his annoyances, pressing their claims for honours and places.

"There has been a desperate quarrel between the King and his sons. George Fitz-Clarence wanted to be made a peer and have a pension; the King said he could not do it: so they struck work in a body, and George resigned his office of Deputy Adjutant-General and wrote the King a furious letter. The King sent for Lord Hill, and told him to try and bring him to his senses; but Lord Hill could do nothing. Speedily, however, one was created Earl of Munster. His Majesty, however, bore this treatment with much good humour and partiality.

"Dolly Fitz-Clarence lost £100, betting 100 to 10 that the King would go to Guildhall, and he told the King he had lost him £100, so the King gave him the money."

It is evidence of the tendency to favour the King's children that Lord A. Fitz-Clarence was despatched on a "mission" to Berlin, to present the King of Prussia with the small model of a man-of-war fully rigged. "On his return he amused his friends with his adventures and the flattering receptions he met with, which, if he had been a Prince of the Blood, could not have been more flattering. On his arrival, as he told humorously, an aide-de-camp of the King was attached to him, and royal carriages placed at his disposal. He was escorted with every honour to the races at Potsdam; but by his own account was bored, and left the course before the royal family, for Berlin. The next day he dined at Court, and taking his opportunity to glide away from the palace, got into a hackney coach, and went to a *petit spectacle*; here he was detected by the aide-de-camp, who tapped him on the shoulder, and told him the royal carriage was in waiting to convey him to the opera."

The fate of the King's eldest son was tragic. In March, 1842, a sad catastrophe occurred, thus related by Mr. Raikes:

"This night, at twelve o'clock, Lord Munster shot himself through the head at his house in Belgrave Street. No reason, as yet, can be assigned for this horrid catastrophe. It appears that he had been for two or three days in a very dejected state of mind, and the physicians who had been consulted on his case in the morning, were apprehensive as to his safety. His brother Adolphus passed the evening with him, and left him at half-past ten still very unwell. At twelve he retired to his room; he had two pistols within reach.

The first attempt was fruitless, and he only shot himself through the hand, upon which he called his servant, said he had wounded himself by accident, and sent him to fetch a surgeon. As the man was going out of the house he heard a fresh report, which was the accomplishment of the fatal deed. He had the place of Constable of Windsor Castle, and he had just been appointed to the command of the troops at Plymouth, with which he was much pleased. He was a very amiable man in private life, not without some talent, and given to study Eastern languages."

We hear of Lord Egremont, enormously wealthy, the patron of painters, and the dispenser of a generous hospitality, giving Lady Munster, his daughter, a fortune of £90,000. Once this nobleman presented a lady, to whom he was attached, with a blank cheque—the fair one filled it up for £30,000, and it was duly honoured. The King's putting on mourning for his son-in-law was, however, thought an odd and unprecedented proceeding, and it was so declared by solemn sticklers for etiquette.\*

\* In the year 1837, the last of the King's life, Lady Morgan describes a rather touching little scene, creditable to the feelings of those concerned: "We had a very amusing, and to me, very interesting dinner at Lord Adolphus Fitz-Clarence's, in the old St. James's Palace. Lord Adolphus took me into his boudoir in the evening; we were alone, and he showed me a miniature set in brilliants. 'The King!' I said. 'Yes, my father,' said he, taking another picture out of the casket, 'and,' added he, with emotion, 'this was—my mother.' After a pause, I said, 'It is a great likeness, as I last saw her.' 'Where was that?' 'In Dublin.' 'On the stage?' 'Yea, in the "Country Girl," the most wondrous representation of life and nature I ever beheld! I saw her, also, when she was on a visit at Sir Jonah Barrington's. She sent to my father to go and visit her, he did so; she called him the most amiable of all her managers.' After a pause, he said, 'Sir Charles and you will accompany me to Chantrey's to-morrow, to see her beautiful monu-

ment, which they have refused to admit into St. Paul's, though Mrs. Woffington's monument is still expected there."

Of this popular man, who followed his father's profession and long commanded Her Majesty's yacht, these stories were told to Mr. Jerdan, and they are not without interest as anecdotes of coincidence. "Lord Adolphus Fitz-Clarence happened to drop into Coutts's with his friend Mr. W., who wanted to draw some money, for which purpose he got a cheque from the cashier, and filled it up for £200. Lord A., left standing by the counter, noticed laughingly: 'Well, it is a very pleasant thing to be able to walk in and draw £200 in that way.' 'If your lordship wishes to draw,' replied the cashier, 'I will hand you a cheque.' 'Oh, yes; but as I do not keep an account here, that would be of very little use,' said my lord; and the conversation went on as his lordship thought jocularly. 'I beg your lordship's pardon, but I shall be very happy to cash it.' 'But I tell you I have no money in the bank, and never had any at Messrs. Coutts.' 'Your lordship is mistaken; there is a larger sum than that standing in our books in your name,' and consulting a large ledger he pointed out the entry. It turned out that his royal father had vested certain amounts for the younger branches of his family, and had somehow forgotten to mention the circumstance; and so there it might have lain for a long time, as it is a rule of the house never to announce monies paid in, but for this curious coincidence!"

The same noble lord, whilst up the country at the Cape, was suddenly summoned to his ship, in consequence of the breaking out of some mutinous insubordination, and hastily getting on horseback, galloped towards the shore, where his boat was waiting him. On his course he arrived at a barrier where there was toll to pay, and found that in his haste he had forgotten his purse. He explained to the keeper who he was. "Oh, then," said the fellow, "you are most welcome to proceed; for your brother took me with the rest of the Cato Street conspiracy, and it was only through his goodness that I obtained mercy, and was permitted to come out here, where I was put to this employment."

On a visit to inspect Bethlehem Hospital, his lordship was pertinaciously asked for his name by a female patient, and, to avoid trouble, gave that of Mr. Jones. Some time after he again went with some friends, and was speedily encountered by his former interrogator; but this time it was in a different tone. "You did not," said she, "conduct yourself like a gentleman to me when you were last here. No, no, I knew you were no Mr. Jones, but (taking a shilling) your likeness to that showed me at once who you were. And now, sir, you

may give my compliments to your father, and tell him that the day he signed the Reform Act he was much madder than I am."

Mr. Raikes tells us: "The other day a large party dined at the Pavilion. Among the guests was the American minister. The King was seized with his fatal habit of making a speech, in which he said that it was always a matter of serious regret to him that he had not been born a free, independent American, so much he respected that nation, and considered Washington the greatest man that ever lived. Lord F. Fitz-Clarence succeeds his brother Lord Munster as Vice-constable of the Tower, and Lord Adolphus Fitz-Clarence is made Lord of the Bedchamber. The King has given to Lord Munster the place of Governor of Windsor Castle, vacant by the death of Lord Conyngham."

## CHAPTER XVIII.

ALREADY the ill-conditioned nature of the Duke of Cumberland began to give trouble. In the late King he had lost his friend and patron, and the new sovereign, who had always differed from him in politics, cordially disliked him. At a great dinner to his household, he gave as a toast, "The land we live in, and let *those who don't like it leave it*"—a fraternal allusion, and unmistakable. It need hardly be said that the Duke of Cumberland was certain to put himself in the wrong from his violent and uncontrolled temper. All his horses were in the Queen's stables, and on being requested or rather ordered to remove them, he replied with an oath that they should stay there. He was told in reply that they should be taken out the following day, if he did not remove them. His Majesty was reported to have said that he had a very bad opinion of him, and wished he would go and live out of the country. But a more serious and undignified quarrel arose about "the Gold Stick." Formerly this symbol was held alternately by the two Colonels of the Life Guards; but the Duke had obtained the command in chief of all the regiments from the late King, and retained the Gold Stick in his own hands. The new King now restored the old system, and at the funeral gave orders to Lord Combermere to

take the command of the troops as Gold Stick. The Duke of Cumberland was so intemperate as to resist, and sent counter-orders to another officer to take the command. This unseemly dispute ended in the Duke's resigning the command of his regiment, and the command being handed over to the Duke of Wellington. Notwithstanding all this, the King was too good-natured to be at enmity with him, and they were soon on good terms again; and, as we shall see presently, the Duke was at his old tortuous games, trying to work on the King's mind, or to set others to work on it, with a view to overruling the Cabinet Ministers.\*

The second great personage to whom the eyes of the public were directed with curiosity and interest was the Queen. This great lady was in a situation of peculiar delicacy in reference to her family, having no children of her own, being surrounded by her husband's children, and having further to deal with the party who surrounded the young heiress to the throne. In person she appears to have been unattractive, not to say absolutely plain, and her manners were homely, and with a more than German reserve. But she was an excellent, upright woman, having much good sense, and fulfilled the duties of her high station in an exemplary way. Mr. Greville speaks of her always in a very coarse way, and seems to have nourished an extraordinary dislike to her, mainly founded on her unprepossessing appearance. Her royal husband was attached to her, and sometimes exhibited this feeling in a grotesque fashion; as when, at the close of one of his dinner-parties, he took leave of the

\* The singular violence of his nature may be conceived from this entry in Lord Ellenborough's Diary: "The Duke goes to Windsor to-morrow respecting the late King's papers, the Duke of Cumberland having meditated an *enlèvement*."

company : "Now, ladies and gentlemen, I wish you a good-night. I will not detain you any longer from your amusements, and shall go to my own, which is to go to bed ; so come along, my queen."

The question of the Regency had, however, to be settled at once ; and the Cabinet embarrassed itself with a rather theoretical question, which in practice was not likely to arise, namely, if the Queen should have offspring, etc.

Thus Lord Ellenborough gravely sets down : "The Chief Justices will be asked whether, supposing the Queen to be pregnant at the death of the King, the next living heir would succeed ? How in the event of the birth of a child the *de facto* sovereign is to be put aside ? And what should be done if the Queen only *may be* with child ? The difficulty consists in the oath of allegiance, which must be altered and made conditional. But what a curious position the Queen Victoria would be placed in, if a baby were to oust her after eight months of reign !"

However, in November, 1830, it was decided that the Princess Victoria should be considered Queen, and the oath of allegiance taken to her with the reservation of the rights of any child that might be born. If the child should be born, the Queen Dowager to be Regent ; during the Princess's minority the Duchess of Kent.

One of the last ministerial acts of the Duke of Wellington was to inform the Duchess of Kent that he had a communication to make to her on the part of His Majesty, and courteously proposed to wait on her at Kensington. The Duchess, it seems, was at Claremont, and from that place addressed to him the following stiff communication, which was scarcely respectful to the King :

"Claremont, November 14, 1830.

"MY LORD DUKE,

"I have just received your letter of this date. As it is not convenient for me to receive your Grace at Kensington, I prefer having in writing, addressed to me here, the communication you state the King has commanded you to make to me.

"VICTORIA."

The Duke, in reply, explained that he simply wished to explain the Regency proposals to her, which were that she was to be Regent until the young Princess was eighteen years of age. But as it was impossible to give in writing the various details, he would forward the Bill to her.

It will be seen from this little incident that the relations between the Court and the Duchess could not have been of an agreeable kind.\*

\* Mr. Greville explains how these angry feelings of the Court were gradually worked up. According to some "lights" thrown on the subject by the Duke of Wellington, "the late King disliked her;" the Duke of Cumberland too was her enemy, and George IV., "who was as great a despot as ever lived, was always talking of taking her child from her, which he inevitably would have done but for the Duke, who, wishing to prevent quarrels, did all in his power to deter the King, not by opposing him when he talked of it, which he often did, but by putting the thing off." Sir John Conroy was supposed to be her adviser. The truth was, her position was exceedingly awkward, and it required more delicacy of management than she or her friends were gifted with, to avoid these jealousies. We shall see how, shortly before the King's death, they came to an open rupture.

## CHAPTER XVII.

THE King having found a Tory Ministry in power when he ascended the throne, it might have been thought that so old and consistent a Liberal would have felt himself awkwardly situated. But, like his late brother, he had become a Tory; and had already assured ministers, with enthusiasm, that "they should have his entire, cordial, and determined support." No wonder the Duke of Sussex was heard to say to a friend, " You and I, my lord, are old Whigs." The ministry, however, was already falling.

The following lively but bitter sketches of the *personnel* of the first ministry of King William are scarcely overcharged. The praise of Lyndhurst is of course ironical :

"It would be easy to find an abler man than the Prime Minister; but impossible to name any one less popular, whether with the aristocracy, the Church, or the community at large. Civil experience he has hardly any—political knowledge, none—his talents lay in war, and with the peace they have ceased to be of any more use than an old matchlock or a battering ram. He was of some service while the King's personal prejudices and

unsteadiness required the control of a strong hand ; with the life of the late monarch, that use too has ceased.

“ The Lord Chancellor Lyndhurst has notoriously disappointed, by his indolence, all who had formed any expectations of him. He is, by common consent, the most inefficient Keeper to whom the Great Seal has been entrusted, since Lord Bathurst. No doubt, as far as personal weight and consideration go—the dignity derived from consistency, steadiness of principle, and all that goes to make up public virtue—the present Ministry may boast of a share in the person of its First Law Officer, such as none ever had, and such as it would be absolutely cruel to examine in detail.

“ Among his colleagues, the Earl of Aberdeen stands distinguished (bold as the assertion may to some appear) for that union of feebleness with presumption—of incapacity in every other man’s eyes, with all-sufficiency in his own—which constitutes the ridiculous in character. It is from such originals that the pencil of Cervantes drew the Baratarian Government of Sancho Panza, that of Sheridan his Lord Burleigh, and of Swift his Gulliver drawing upon the King of Brobdingnag. Mankind have yet to learn one single ground upon which this lord should affect to hold any other given lord cheap ; and yet he never opens his mouth but to try some clumsy sneer. He is supposed to have studied under Mr. Pitt, who had some right to indulge in such supercilious demeanour.

“ The other members of the Cabinet it is really difficult for any one, not having a peculiarly retentive memory, to recollect. One, indeed, Lord Ellenborough, is remembered, not from the possession of any shining or statesmanlike qualities, but on account of certain awkward passages in his history. This individual pro-

fessed himself at different times the follower of Lord Lansdowne and of Lord Grey; but he left them all upon the first hint of a place from the Duke of Wellington, and he accepted it, with an amendment to the Duke's address ready written in his pocket, which he had had the impudent vanity to show to several persons. Of Sir Robert Peel we have not spoken. He is a man of respectable talents, moderate acquirements, unquestioned propriety, undeniable self-complacency, and brilliant and boundless wealth. Whether these, added to the possession of as much unpopularity as ever fell to one man's share, be exactly the qualifications that will fit him for leading such a House of Commons as is just returned, and against such an opposition, may be a different thing. He is supposed to have so deep, so devout a veneration for himself (testified among other things by reverently dropping the voice upon naming the object of his adoration), as rather to have enjoyed standing alone last session. He probably is now hugging himself in the hope of a like enjoyment at the approaching meeting. If so, it may be asserted with great safety, that, though his portion of bliss be not the greatest, it is at least the most uncavied ever yet bestowed upon mortal."

From the very beginning, one of the political panaceas that filled the King's mind on every emergency, was the idea of a coalition. This he pressed on almost every occasion when there was a crisis; and so absurd were some of these Utopian combinations, such as Peel with Melbourne, that the persons addressed could scarcely bring themselves to think him serious, or to answer him seriously. Even at the outset, his plan was to have Lord Grey and the Duke in the same Cabinet —which did not seem feasible, save, perhaps, to Lord

Monmouth in the novel, who cried, "D—— the Reform Bill ! If the Duke had not quarrelled with Lord Grey on a Coal Committee, we should never have had the Reform Bill, and Grey would have gone to Ireland."

Before he came to the throne the King was anxious for this junction with Grey, and it is observable in the letters of Lord Grey and Lord Rosslyn how great a disposition existed in these and other chiefs of the Whig party to join with the Duke of Wellington, had they been met with a like disposition on his part. Indeed, the latter held the Duke of Bedford's proxy for a considerable period. But the Duke did not relish the notion.

In every respect this rather effete Government was unsuited to the country. We even find, from an indiscreet revelation of Lord Ellenborough, that the desperate resource of bribing, or "nobbling," the Press was seriously planned in the Cabinet.

"This Press," said a Cabinet Minister contemptuously, "may be bought, but we have no money. Five-sixths of the Foreign Secret Service money are preoccupied by permanent old charges—the Secret Service money of the Treasury is preoccupied in the same way. There is a small sum of droits which may be turned over to the Privy Purse, and then by the King to the Government, but it is not more than £3000. It is thought that perhaps some of the pensions on the Secret Service money of the Treasury may be turned over to the Foreign Office." He then adds, naïvely enough : "*The Treasury money is the only money applicable to the purchase of newspapers.*" It should be remembered, however, that later, both Whig and Tory Governments tried hard to win over Mr. Barnes.

The strange incident of both Whigs and Tories having made contracts with the editor of *The Times*,

is not only significant of the *flexibility* of that journal, but carries evidence of the relations of Government with the Press, as the bargain was actually sealed in Lord Lyndhurst's dining-room, whilst the pasting together the pieces of Brougham's letter brought out awkwardly his connection with the same paper.

Mr. Jerdan, who directed *The Sun*, gives many curious instances of the anxiety of the Government to propitiate that paper by imparting notices of its plans. The Government also reaped advantages during war times from their connection with the papers. For as these organs would greedily purchase precious copies of foreign newspapers, brought over by daring smacks and smugglers, which were offered at the offices, and valued at twenty, thirty, and sometimes at a hundred pounds. These purchases were quite of a speculative character, often proving worthless, but oftener containing some highly valuable piece of news which, before publication, was communicated to Ministers. Then, as now, special, second, and third editions were issued of an evening as fast as the news came in.

Mr. Jerdan, in his somewhat diffuse "Recollections," gives some curious details of these intimate relations between ministers and journalists, which reached to the extent of confidential interviews and consultations —the journalist asking for a meeting when anxious for special information. Later on, the Government of the Regent, and, still later, that of the King, was to receive invaluable assistance from such organs as *The Post* and the *John Bull*.

Even sixty or seventy years ago foreigners were amazed at the bold enterprise of the leading journals, and the immense advance made in the department of reporting. The reader turns in vain to the newspapers

of the time of the Warren Hastings' impeachment for some idea of the great speeches of Sheridan and Burke, which so electrified their contemporaries, and only finds a meagre record in the shape of two or three dwindled columns, equivalent to about half a column of the newspapers of our own time. It was not infrequent, however, to issue a verbatim report of a series of debates, like those on the Regency, or some important process like that of the Duke of York, in a thick octavo volume. Mr. Rush, who was American Minister at St. James's in 1818, thus records his admiration of the enterprise of the English Press :

" I live," he says, " north of Portman Square, nearly three miles from the House of Commons. By nine in the morning, the newspapers are on my breakfast-table, containing the debate of the preceding night. This is the case, though it may have lasted until one, two, or three in the morning. There is no disappointment; hardly a typographical error. The leading papers pay to the Government an annual tax in stamps, of from twenty to fifty thousand pounds sterling. I have been told that some of them yield a profit of fifteen thousand sterling a year, after paying this tax, and all expenses. The profits of *The Times* are said to have exceeded eighteen thousand a year. The cost of a daily paper to a regular subscriber is about ten pounds sterling a year. But subdivision comes in to make them cheap. They are circulated by agents at a penny an hour in London. When a few days old, they are sent to provincial towns, and through the country at reduced prices. In this manner, the Parliamentary debates and proceedings, impartially and fully reported, go through the nation. The newspaper sheet is suited to all this service, being substantial, and the type good. Nothing can exceed

the despatch with which the numerous impressions are worked off."

At this time *The St. James's Chronicle* was the type of the old newspaper, but its newer rivals had completely put it aside ; conspicuous among which was *The Morning Chronicle*, which the late Mr. Perry raised into a successful journal and held the office of editor for nearly forty years. Says one who knew him : " He was a man of strong natural sense, some acquired knowledge, a quick tact ; prudent, plausible, and with great heartiness and warmth of feeling. His cordial voice and sanguine mode of address made friends, whom his sincerity and gratitude ensured. An overflow of animal spirits, sooner than anything else, floats a man into the tide of success. He possessed a most tenacious memory, and often, in the hottest periods of Parliamentary warfare, carried off half a debate on his own shoulders. . . . . Perry was more vain than proud. This made him fond of the society of lords, and them of his. His shining countenance reflected the honour done him, and the alacrity of his address prevented any sense of awkwardness or inequality of pretensions. He was a little of a coxcomb. Towards the last, he, to be sure, received visitors in his library at home, something in the style of the Marquis Marialva in 'Gil Blas.' "

Another important paper was *The Times*, which is described as a "commercial paper, a paper of business, and it is conducted on principles of trade and business. It floats with the tide : it sails with the stream. It has no other principle, as we take it. It is not ministerial ; it is not patriotic ; but it is civic. It bears down upon a question, like a first-rate man-of-war, with streamers flying and all hands on deck ; but if the first broadside does not answer, turns short upon it, like a triremed

galley, firing off a few paltry squibs to cover its retreat. It takes up no falling cause ; fights no up-hill battle. Let the mob shout, let the city roar, and the voice of *The Times* is heard above them all, with outrageous, deafening clamour ; but let the vulgar hubbub cease, and no whisper, no echo of it is ever after heard of in *The Times*."

The new *Times*, which is the existing newspaper of the name, was, it will be seen, a high Tory paper. "The editor deals in no half measures, in no half principles ; but is a thorough-paced stickler for the modernised doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance. Dr. Sacheverel, in his day, could not go beyond him. He is no flincher, no trimmer ; he 'champions legitimacy to the *outrance*.' There is something in this spirit, that if it exposes the possessor to hatred, exempts him from contempt. The present editor of the New, and late editor of the Old *Times*, whatever we may think of his opinions, must be acknowledged to be staunch, determined, and consistent in maintaining them."\*

\* To Mr. Black, of *The Chronicle*, Mr. Dickens has given generous testimony, and indeed his account of the energetic system on which newspapers were administered in 1834, might stand for what goes on in the office of a spirited newspaper of our day. ("Life of Dickens," i., 77, 79.) See also Lamb's account of "Newspapers Five-and-thirty Years Ago."

## CHAPTER XVIII.

WILLIAM IV., when he came to the throne, was unfortunate in finding his kingdom, as to politics, in a highly critical situation. A Tory ministry was in power; yet the nation, which had just obtained the immense measure of Catholic Emancipation, was, as it proved, on the eve of another change far more important. To complicate matters, the feelings of the King, himself a tried Liberal and "an old Whig," were utterly opposed, on the grounds of prerogative, to the great measure on which the nation was engaged. No situation could be imagined more embarrassing or more delicate. Nor was he likely to have any assistance from his present advisers, who, like the Premier, held that the signature of the King to the Reform Bill was the destruction of the monarchy.

But there was yet another event impending, and which was to take place almost on the King's accession, which gave an irresistible impulse to the cause of Reform. This was the French and Belgian Revolutions of 1830. The almost insane behaviour of Charles X. and his minister, the fatal consequences of which were already portrayed in all the letters and commentaries of the time, threw a sort of discredit on the existence of the Tory party in England; while the brilliant success of

the insurrection, and the genuine “Reform” that followed, imparted an irresistible force to the partisans of the English movement.

A dramatic incident was the flight of the luckless monarch and his court, who, as usual, sought shelter in the land where every exile is certain of protection and sympathy; bringing also with them a certain embarrassment for the Government. For it was a delicate matter to find the nice mean between partisanship and a neutral toleration. On the whole, however, through a period of nearly forty years, the English Government had acquitted itself with admirable impartiality and with due humanity, and even generosity.

“The history of French Sovereigns in England” would be an interesting story; but would also reveal, it is to be feared, a chapter of ingratitude, a display of grudge and wounded pride, at being forced to accept such hospitality, and even charity. We constantly hear of generous loans, never repaid; of neglect, when the return visit was repaid, of a wish to wipe out the recollection of the whole awkward episode; while King Louis himself and his family, who ought to their dying day to have, in his own phrase, “been penetrated with gratitude” for the generous partisanship which overwhelmed them with honours and kindness, and finally gave them back their throne, treated his English visitors with a patronizing state and graciousness which seemed to signify that they had only done this by him. These discreditable facts are attested by many writers and travellers. Even the late Mr. Planché, who went over for the coronation of Charles X., and who rested all his hopes of a good place at the show on a wealthy noble to whom his family had been most kind and charitable, found that this personage forgot all about him.

When the news of the Revolution arrived in London, the royal family were at Brighton, where was also that eminent *intrigante*, Madame de Lieven. She wrote to a friend :

"I was dining at the Pavilion when the Duke of Wellington was there, quite calm, and certain that everything would be put down. After dinner came a courier with the news that the royal army had withdrawn. He was terribly taken back, and overwhelmed with this *devilish bad business*."

"There will be a general war out of this, of which it is impossible to see the ending. The Duke appears to be devoted to Talleyrand. He says he is a very honest, worthy man. This *honesty* in Talleyrand suggests that *esprit* of Polignac."

It is amusing to contrast her later obsequiousness to the Duke with this manifest spite.

When, in 1830, London was waiting with feverish interest for further news from Paris, an express arrived, on August 16th, for the Admiral with news that the Royal Family were off Spithead, on board an American frigate. He had found them in a sad state of depression. His Majesty wept, and said that he was too old to be a King of France, that he was only concerned for his little grandchild. He had despatched one of his suite with letters for the King and the Duke of Wellington. The latter also received a distracted letter from Madame de Gontant, one of the ladies whom he had known in more prosperous days.

"My dear duke," it ran, "will you read the enclosed letter, quite confidential, which I write to Lady Maryborough. It is the exact state of things. All our hopes are in you. Poor Charles X. has had the discretion not to ask to be landed, and does not venture to ask any

more, but to stay till he knows where he is to go ; and he does not know yet what he had better do. But his wish and all our hopes are of our settling in quiet *retraite* here, anywhere you wish, private and quiet. Do save us, save him, and save the poor children ; *il n'y a jamais eu de position plus affreuse*. And save us also from *les gardiens qui nous entourent*."

The "gardiens" thus alluded to were the emissaries of the new French Government, and it is characteristic of the French character that the party should have felt this comparatively slight annoyance almost more than they did the real hardship of their position.

The great anxiety of the Government, whatever their reason, was that the King should not go ashore till he reached his destination, and they did not relish the plan he had determined on of staying for a time with Mr. Weld, at Lulworth. But this was not all that was in store for the fallen monarch, for we find that some Jews to whom the King owed money in Germany, were eager now to seize this favourable opportunity of arresting him. And the Prime Minister was much disturbed by the possibility of such an event taking place, and for which it seemed difficult to find a remedy, as the King could not now claim protection.

When it was known that the Royal party were established at Holyrood Palace, it seemed likely that their troubles would recommence, for there were symptoms of an angry popular outburst against the abettors of the Polignacs. This was happily averted, owing in the main, to an appeal by Sir Walter Scott, who reminded his countrymen that the unfortunate family were their guests, and, whatever were their errors, they were now atoning for them. Their situation, indeed, deserved all pity ; and even their accommodation in the chilly, ill-

furnished churches of the old palace, seems to have been anything but comfortable. Lord Aberdeen, who had an interview with the ex-King in November, 1831, thus describes the situation :

"He was in a wretched, cold, unfurnished bedroom ; he was in good health and spirits ; he entered into a long justification of his conduct ; he said he committed but one error, and that was a fatal one ; he never mentioned Polignac ; he spoke ill of none except Louis Philippe, whom he abused a good deal ; he appeared to be quite confident of a restoration, that is, of Henry V. ; he thought that time would do everything for him ; and " (to prove that he had even then heard nothing and forgotten nothing) "he said that our revolution" (that is the Reform Bill) " required very little to be as effectual as the French one."

The Royal family soon became popular from their abundant charities and affability. But the jealousy of the French was gradually exerted on the English Government, and pressure was put to compel the ex-King to engage to cease all correspondence with his adherents in France, else shelter could not be given to him. This he declined.

A plot, too, was discovered to assassinate the young Duke of Bordeaux. For these reasons the King resolved to quit the country ; and he did so, to the last attended by a certain brusque lack of courtesy on the part of our Government ; for he had to take passage to Hamburg in a common trader, while the Duchess of Angoulême crossed in the ordinary packet.

The confusion at Paris had drawn to London some remarkable characters ; so celebrated a personage as Marshal Marmont, who, invited to many houses, found comfort in relating his recent adventures, and in shift-

ing the blame from his own shoulders. The Duke of Wellington called on his old enemy, and must have found it a curious situation, as he recalled the long march, when he and the doughty Marshal were for days manœuvring in front of each other. In London society, at this time, the Duke was a figure of much interest ; and by the various "Recollections," particularly those of Mr. Raikes, he appears to have talked freely and pleasantly of his campaigns, furnishing light reminiscences of the great people whom he had encountered. But a person of far more mark and one of the most unique characters in history had now arrived as ambassador. This was Prince Talleyrand. There was something strange in finding this adventurous, brilliant being in London, though he was grown old and feeble. He arrived in October, and was duly presented to His Majesty.

"It was noted that he backed to the window and read a speech in which *there were several erasures*. He declared the determination of France to pursue the course so wisely followed by England of non-interference. He spoke of himself as *Ministre d'une Royauté votée à l'unanimité*. The King did not much like receiving him, and was a little nervous. To what Talleyrand said about non-interference the King answered it was a very good thing, especially when exercised *de bonne foi*. This he said by Aberdeen's advice." \*

On a former occasion the Government was caused much embarrassment by the arrival of exiled French, as in the case of the Count de Provence, or as he was officially styled, "His Majesty Louis XVIII.," and his

\* Talleyrand being later asked in a London drawing-room to explain what "non-intervention" was, said gravely, it was a mode of diplomacy "*d peu près la même chose que l'intervention*."

*entourage.* It was announced in October, 1807, that he was coming to England, and would avail himself of the offer of staying at Holyrood House. He was to land at Yarmouth, where he would be met by his brother, the Count of Artois; but there was some awkwardness about his reception on landing, the Government clearly not wishing to recognise him by official salutes and other marks of honour.

The only thing to be done was to despatch envoys to receive him and perhaps watch him, and the Count, it was evident, was also eager to avoid this attention. Lord Buckingham was entrusted with this delicate mission, and set off in pursuit.\*

"From delays on the road for want of horses, and a *détour* to be made by the road to Gossfield Hall (Lord Buckingham's seat), we entered Yarmouth at the very moment that Louis XVIII. quitted it; our carriages passed each other. As soon as our horses were refreshed we turned their heads round and followed Louis XVIII. Luckily he also was retarded by the want of horses, and could only get as far as Yexford, thirty miles from Yarmouth, that evening. On our arrival at Yexford, and learning that His Majesty was there and at supper, Mr. Bagot sent in a note to Monsieur, to whom he was directed in the first instance to address himself, stating in few words that he was charged to make a communication to him from His Majesty's Ministers, and couch-

\* On the landing of the Queen of France in England, Queen Charlotte wrote to Lady Harcourt: "The Queen is very infirm, in low spirits, and easily alarmed. When He landed, the Common People touched Her, and then Huzah'd; but She Shrunk back, till Captain Dundas told Her it was a testimony of their joy. Then she came forward and gave them Her Hand, shedding Tears when She was told they were glad *She was safe in Good Old England*. The Populace were quite affected to see Her cry."

ing the note in such language as not to give rise to any suspicion that our mission was of an unpleasant nature. Monsieur came out to us immediately, and received us with his usual good-nature; he could not help remarking, however, in answer to what Mr. Bagot was charged with to Louis XVIII., '*C'est un peu tard, messieurs, mais enfin passe pour cela.*' As soon as His Most Christian Majesty had supped, we were introduced to him. Mr. Bagot and myself (for it was a sort of joint conversation) then told him 'that we were charged by His Majesty's Government, and more particularly by Lord Hawkesbury and Mr. Canning, to inform His Most Christian Majesty that we had not approached him sooner from a wish not to break in upon the first moments of his interview with his royal brother; that we were now come to learn, without giving His Most Christian Majesty the trouble of writing a formal answer, what were His Majesty's intentions with respect to his residence at Holyrood House; and that, whatever for the moment they might be, His Majesty's Government would receive with respect His Most Christian Majesty's determination; and that we were instructed to receive His Majesty's orders, and to facilitate by every means in our power every object which could contribute to His Majesty's personal convenience and comfort. Louis XVIII. received us with his well-known benignity, heard us with attention, and replied to us in a few words, that he was very sensible of this attention on the part of His Majesty's Government, that he proposed going to Gossfield Hall, where he intended to remain for about eight days, and that from thence he would acquaint Lord Hawkesbury with what were his future intentions.'

After more offers of service, which were rather drily

acknowledged with the remark "that the way in which we could best serve His Majesty at present would be by ordering him horses on the road, which he would take it very kind of us to do. On the whole our mission seems to have turned out very well; we were certainly rather late, by which means some etiquette (such as a salute at landing, &c.) was omitted; but as it was given to be understood that His Majesty's sudden and *unexpected* arrival was what we were not *prepared* for, this may surely be forgiven. Admiral Douglas sent his barge for him, and took him to his apartments, where he remained till he left Yarmouth. Burke of the Alien Office accompanied him, and did everything that could be done. Louis XVIII. made him sup with him, and spoke of him in the highest terms. Burke says that when Monsieur had read Mr. Bagot's note he handed it to Louis XVIII., whose countenance *immediately fell*, though, as I have before said, pains had been taken to avoid the possible construction of anything unpleasant."

It is amusing to find how the persons who were sent to receive him, and bear him compliments, contrived to arrive too late, and how ingeniously it was arranged to throw the fault on the King. Mr. Ross, of the Foreign Office, thus explains the manœuvres :

"Burke the messenger preceded him by a few hours. He found, 'tis true, the beds aired, but no fires lighted, nor any provision for supper (this will serve to show how Louis XVIII. has acted), nor any person to cook it. A servant of M. Puysegur who travelled with Burke was the cook, after they sought about and found a hare, some partridges, &c."

One of the most gratifying and spontaneous testi-

monies of the feeling of the English to the royal exiles, was the general joy on the exciting occasion of the restored King's departure for his dominions. There was something dramatic and fitting in this romantic close to nearly twenty-five years of trouble and banishment. It was a day, indeed, of exhilaration and unbounded joy, patience and long waiting being at last crowned with a happy issue. The Prince Regent and his brother ostentatiously and affectionately took part in the pageant. Indeed, it is to his credit that, during the whole time of the exile, he had been conspicuous and unwearied in his attentions and efforts to make them forget all they had lost, and at his own house and on every public occasion he took care to pay them the most conspicuous honours.

Early on this exciting day he had gone down to Stanmore, Lord Abercorn's seat, to attend the royal party up to town, while his brother, the Duke of Clarence, was to escort them, as admiral, across the Channel. Large crowds gathered, and it was admitted that the honest London burghers had never shown such generous and cordial enthusiasm for a foreigner.

This bewildering, entrancing day ought never to have been forgotten by His Majesty. It had been one entire tumult of joy and uproarious shoutings. The Regent had gone down and attended him in all state. Honest John Bulls, *ces gens de bière et de pudding*, as a Frenchman styled him, filled the streets; everything was done that could lend state and show to the joyful solemnity. And this, it must be remembered, was but the crown of a long series of attentions and favours. Not yet forgotten was the famous Regent's *fête*, when the exiles were given the place of honour, and treated as Sovereign Princes. And

now, when at last the new King sailed away from our shores to ascend his throne, Prince William took the command of the attendant fleet, and saw him safely landed in his own realms.

## CHAPTER XIX.

AN unfortunate incident that now clouded the King's popularity occurred in November, when the ministers prevented the King going to dine at the City Guild-hall, owing to fear of riots, etc. There were at first great apprehensions, and troops were massed, etc.; but it was last determined to give up the plan altogether.

During the King's visits to the theatres and on his return from the House of Lords this hostility had been shown. The "new police" (Sir R. Peel's), instituted in 1829, was particularly odious to the crowd, and even if the King escaped, the ministers who attended the show would incur attack. The Lord Mayor Key, on this state of things, addressed this warning to the Government:

"**MY LORD DUKE,**

"From the station of Lord Mayor, to which I have been elected, numberless communications are made to me, both personally and by letter, in reference to the 9th; and it is on that account I take the liberty of addressing your Grace. Although the feelings of all the respectable citizens of London are decidedly loyal, yet

it cannot but be known there are, both in London as well as the country, a set of desperate and abandoned characters, who are anxious to avail themselves of any circumstance to create tumult and confusion ; while all, of any respectability in the city, are vying with each other to testify their loyalty on this occasion. From what I learn, it is the intention of some of the desperate characters alluded to to take the opportunity of making an attack on your Grace's person on your approach to the hall."

The Duke and his colleagues on this determined to decline attending, and the King was advised to do the same. The publication of this document caused the greatest consternation. The Funds fell three per cent. ; the banquet itself was abandoned. Soldiers were brought into the City, and *the ditch of the Tower filled with water.* It was soon found that the panic was an exaggeration, and that the ministry had blundered.

Lord Ellenborough reveals to us the agitation that prevailed in the ministerial camp.

Many have speculated on the mystery that enshrouds Cabinet Councils. Lord Ellenborough is perhaps the only one who has left a journal of these solemn proceedings. His account of a rather anxious meeting connected with this "Visit to the City" business shows in an agreeable way how affairs are conducted on these occasions :

"The Cabinet was to meet at three. We did not, however, all assemble till four, the Duke having been with Peel at the Home Office. Before the Duke came, we had all been talking of the Lord Mayor's Day, and the manner in which we should go into the City and return, and the precautions taken against riot. The

Duke and Peel came together, and it was evident from the first words the Duke spoke that he and Peel had made up their minds to put off the King's visit to the City. The Chancellor seemed almost to take fire at the idea of this, but the Duke very quietly begged him to hear the letters before he decided. The Duke then read various letters he had received, all warning him against going, as there was a plot to assassinate him, and raise a tumult. The *impression* seemed to be general that the attempt would be made. The Duke said he would not go. Peel, who had received many letters informing him of the intention to assassinate him, said if he went he would go privately and come away privately. The consequences of putting off the King's visit were not lost sight of; the effect it would produce on the Funds, and on public confidence—all that would be said against the Government as weighing down the King by its unpopularity. The letter it was proposed to send was written, and the Duke and Peel went with it to the King at a little before seven.

"While they were gone the feeling of the Cabinet underwent a change. Lord Bathurst first observed that it would put an end to the Government, and carry Reform. The Chancellor was most unwilling to postpone the King's visit. It would be said we did it for our sakes only, and sacrificed him. Lord Bathurst thought the King would take the advice, but be very angry, and get rid of us. There would be a violent storm in Parliament, and the mobs would come to our houses. All these feelings rested upon the supposition that the procession could return without a tumult, but the letter had been written on the supposition *that it could not*; which was the correct one. The Duke and Peel came back and told us the King had thought the advice

quite right, and had behaved as well as possible. The tears were in his (the King's) eyes while the Lord Mayor's letter was read. He said he had already determined in his own mind to bring the Duke and Peel back in his own carriage. The Duke thought the King had rather expected the advice, and that his mind was relieved by it.

"We knew the Queen was much alarmed; but it had been said that the King would not hear of there being any danger.

"The account of the King's manner of receiving the advice seemed to tranquillise those who had before been dissatisfied with the resolution which had been come to.

"After we had disposed of this matter we spoke a little of Civil List and Regency. Notice is to be given to-morrow of the two Bills, *as if we were still a Government*, but I now think nothing but general alarm can enable us to weather the question of Reform." \*

\* A placard was circulated to this effect:—"Liberty or Death! Englishmen, Britons, and honest men! The time has at length arrived—all London meets on Tuesday—*come armed*. We assure you from ocular demonstration, that six thousand cutlasses have been removed from the Tower for the immediate use of Peel's bloody gang; remember the *curious speech from the throne!* These damned police are now to be armed. Englishmen, will you put up with this?"

A pleasant story was told of a sentry, who, as the mob advanced abouting "Liberty or Death," answered, "My lads, I don't know anything of liberty, but you shall have death if you advance!"

## CHAPTER XX.

THE course of politics during the opening of William IV.'s reign was simple, and is easily followed. The Duke of Wellington's ministry, which had given the great measure of Emancipation, as we said, was tottering, chiefly owing to the discontent of a section of the Tory party, who were indignant at that concession. But what precipitated the fall of the Government was this City business, which, in familiar phrase, was "the last nail in its coffin." Everybody seemed to turn against them. The Queen was heard to declare that she was much disappointed at not being allowed to go to the Guildhall, though the Fitz-Clarence faction declared themselves against it. It is clear, indeed, from Lord Ellenborough's private diary that the danger was overrated and coloured as a justification. A week before the fall it was actually understood that they could not stand and must resign. The King himself, Lord Ellenborough heard from the Duke, "was anxious about the duration of his Government. He would concede on the subject of Reform, although he is against it. Peel told him he thought that by opposing all Reform in the first instance the Government would be able to make better terms afterwards. The King said either course had its conveniences and inconveniences. He did not decide between them."

This singular notion of Peel puzzled his colleagues exceedingly, to whom he declared in Cabinet only two days before their fall, that he was satisfied that, whatever might be the division on Reform, *the question was carried.* "If the county members voted for it, and it was thrown out by the representatives of Scotch and English boroughs, it was impossible to stand much longer. I cannot understand his reasoning; if he thinks Reform must be carried, surely it is better to vote a general resolution, and to fight the details. By objecting to the general resolution we shall probably be turned out, and have much less power to do good out of office than if we were in.

"It seems to me that obstinacy, and the fear of being again accused of ratting, lead to this determination to resist when resistance is, in his own opinion, fruitless."<sup>\*</sup>

The great captain who was at the head of the Government was indeed an indifferent politician, and it had been well for his reputation that he had never travelled beyond the arts in which he was such a master. His prophecies and forecasts were of the most extraordinary kind—witness that of May 21, 1831: "I don't believe that the King of England has taken a step so fatal to his monarchy, since the day that Charles I. passed the Act to deprive himself of the power of proroguing or dissolving the Long Parliament, as King William IV. did on the 22nd."

And again, on December 30, 1829: "However black-guard O'Connell is, it is quite clear he will not retain or

\* It must be said that this passage with many others relating to his hesitation to join the Duke in common action, are all consistent with a particular view of Sir R. Peel's character. He saw that the old violent Toryism was useless as a factor in politics; that for the moment he could not shake himself free, but looked steadily forward to the time when he should head a party of his own principles.

regain his influence in Ireland. If he should be vulgar or violent in Parliament, nobody will listen to him after the first days, and he will lose his influence everywhere. But he is a very diligent and a very able lawyer, and a good debater; and if he should be only moderate in his language, and he behaves at all like a gentleman, he will be listened to, and his influence will be greater than ever."

One of the chief motive powers which helped the Reform Bill now impending was undoubtedly the violent excesses of the mob, who were to come in aid of the Government, and found a convenient subject of excuse for immediate concession and non-resistance. Here was an early application of the modern principle, that "force is no remedy." \*

But the Duke was not alone in these alarms.

Some light is thrown on the discontent of the Tories with their chief in a letter of bitter complaint from the Marquis of Londonderry, who had been refused some office.

\* On which point the thoughtful words of that experienced veteran statesman, Mr. Thomas Greville, might be well commended for consideration. "You are quite right in saying that our revolution is, I should indeed say, not *begun*, but *far advanced*. It is, as usual in such cases, very easy to point out, and to condemn, the long course of misconduct continued quite up to this actual moment, which has brought us into this fearful condition. But it is very difficult, if not impossible, to show what can now stop the mischief. Concession and resistance are questions not to be treated now in abstract propositions of the general policy of either, but with a most delicate and difficult reference to the actual state of the country in which they are to be pursued. Some proportion of both these must quite evidently now be, and so indeed it always is in such a crisis. I am sure that under such circumstances of public danger you will mean to do right, and I heartily pray that you may do what really is best for the country. For myself, I am a poor, infirm, and superannuated passenger, sharing in all the danger of the storm, but wholly incapable of aiding to keep the vessel in a safe course, if indeed there is any such open to her."

"When I contemplate the list of the H——s, etc. etc., I ask myself, with this portrait, if the Duke's communication is not mere mockery? If D. of W. believes that this course towards me will insure cordial supporters, I think he must little know the ordinary bent of human minds. We are none of us so entirely disinterested as *he* may be, nor devoid of ambition as *one* who has grasped every worldly glory. Nor are we without followers and adherents who look up to us. It is for these I combat, and these will not brook our being neglected and passed by."

The fall of the ministry the Duke of Wellington always attributed to the enmity of his own party. It was really due to this famous, reckless, and astounding declaration against Reform, in its way as blind a piece of infatuation as Polignac's ordinances. Of this an acute observer said :

"The effect produced by this declaration exceeds anything I ever saw, and it has at once destroyed what little popularity the Duke had left. The sensation produced in the country has not yet been ascertained, but it is sure to be immense. I came to town last night, and found the town ringing with his imprudence, and everybody expected his resignation. However, his Grace only repeated, 'Lord, we shan't go out!'"

Everyone was so engrossed with the Reform question that the ordinary business was neglected, and on November 16th they were beaten by a small majority on a civil question.\* On the 17th the Ministry sent in their resignation.

\* "An unlucky *contretemps* shows how unexpected this defeat was," says Sir D. Le Marchant, giving, as usual<sup>1</sup> one of his agreeable reminiscences. "There was a large party at Apsley House that night, and Lord Worcester, who was one of the guests, left the table rather abruptly,

Lord Broughton describes the scene vividly as he does so many others. The opposition was wild with delight, and already seeing themselves back in their old places.

"The Duke went to the King in the morning, and told him it was better he should resign immediately, and so force the new Government to bring forward their measure of Reform. It was better for the country. The King asked the Duke's opinion of Lord Grey, and whether he had ever had any communication with him. The Duke said, 'No.' The King knew the personal objections the late King had to Lord Grey, and he could not, although often pressed by Lord Grey's friends, have any communication with him without either deceiving him or deceiving the King; and he would not do either. The King asked what sort of a man Lord Grey was? The Duke said he really did not know. He had the reputation of being an ill-tempered, violent man; but he knew very little of him. He had never had any political conversation with him. The King was much agitated and distressed."\*

that he might be in time for the division. On his way to the House, he overheard some one saying the division had already taken place, and there was a majority of twenty-nine, which he presumed to be in favour of the Ministers. He returned at once with the intelligence, which created no surprise. Shortly afterwards Mr. Holmes arrived with the true version, which he communicated to the Duke privately; and nothing was at first mentioned to the guests, so that a lady present went away believing the accuracy of Lord Worcester's report, and on reaching the Princess Lieven's, she soundly rated some inoffensive Whig member for presuming to say that the majority was against the ministry instead of for them."

\* Mr. Watson, who sat for Northamptonshire during this time, described in 1846, to Dickens, "the constitutional impossibility he and Lord Lansdowne and the rest laboured under of ever personally attaching a single young man in all the excitement of that exciting

"I met the Duke coming out of his room," says Mr. Greville, "but did not like to speak to him; he got into his cabriolet, and nodded as he passed, but he looked very grave. The King seems to have behaved perfectly throughout the whole business, no intriguing or under-hand communication with anybody, with great kindness to his Ministers, anxious to support them while it was possible, and submitting at once to the necessity of parting with them. The fact is, he turns out an incomparable King, and deserves all the encomiums that are lavished on him. All the mountebankery which signalled his conduct when he came to the throne has passed away with the excitement which caused it, and he is as dignified as the homeliness and simplicity of his character will allow."

It is amusing to contrast this warm encomium of the diarist with his later torrents of abuse against this monarch.

"I dressed," says one of the ministers, "and went, and in a few moments was admitted to the King. The King desired me to sit down, and asked me whether I had any expectation of the division of last night? I said no. I thought that upon any question connected with the Civil List we should have had a majority; that the question itself was one of little importance. The King said it was probably chosen as a question merely to try strength. I then said I supposed I must take leave of His Majesty. He said in one sense his Ministers

time to the leaders of the party. It was quite a delight to me," adds Dickens, "as I listened, to recall my own dislike of his style of speaking: *his fishy coldness*, his uncongenial and unsympathetic politeness, and his insufferable though most gentlemanly artificiality. The shape of his head (I see it now) was misery to me, and weighed down my youth."—"Life of Dickens," ii., 238.

seemed to think they could not go on. I said I could not but express my sentiments—which were, I was sure, those of all my colleagues—the sentiments of deep gratitude to His Majesty for the constant kind and honourable confidence he had placed in us.

"His Majesty said he thought it his duty to give the full support of the Crown to his Ministers. He had confidence in those he found at his brother's demise; and since July 26th, which was the commencement of our troubles, he had regarded with admiration that which was most important in their conduct, their Foreign Policy. He had a feeling of entire satisfaction with them.

"The King was much affected, and had the tears in his eyes all the time I was speaking to him. I then rose and kissed his hand, and he shook hands with me, and wished me good-bye for the present. I asked for the *entrée*, which he gave me very good-naturedly. *The three Fitz-Clarences were in the lower room, seemingly enjoying our discomfiture.*"

This trifling entry is significant, and not merely a trivial piece of gossip; for it will be seen presently what a share these persons were to have in at least the unmaking of a ministry, and what a baleful influence they exercised.

On November 23rd, a Court was held for the old Ministers to give up their seals, and by an awkward *contretemps* the new Ministers arrived before their departure. Mr. Greville, who was with the old set, chanced to look into the next room and found it full of the new—Graham, Althorp, Durham, etc. "Each after his audience departed, most of them never to return. As they went away they met the others arriving. I was with the old set in the Throne Room till they

went away, and on opening the door and looking into the other room I found it full of the others—Althorp, Graham, Auckland, J. Russell, Durham, etc., faces that a little while ago I should have had small expectation of finding there. The effect was very droll, such a complete *changement de décoration*. When the old Ministers were all off the business of the day began. All the Cabinet was there—the new Master of the Horse (Lord Albemarle), Lord Wellesley, his little eyes twinkling with joy, and Brougham, in Chancellor's costume, but not yet a peer. The King sent for me into the closet to settle about their being sworn in, and to ask what was to be done about Brougham, whose patent was not come, and who wanted to go to the House of Lords. These things settled, he held the Council, when twelve new Privy Councillors were sworn in, three Secretaries of State, Privy Seal, and the declarations made of President of Council and Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. The King could not let slip the opportunity of making a speech: ‘My Lords, it is a part of the duty I have to perform to declare a Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and although I certainly should have acquiesced in any recommendation which might have been made to me for this appointment by Earl Grey, I must say that I have peculiar satisfaction in entrusting that most important charge to the noble lord, whom I therefore declare with entire satisfaction Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. And, my Lords, I must say that this day is since the death of my poor brother (here his voice faltered and he looked or tried to look affected) the most important which has occurred since the beginning of my reign, for in the course of my long life it has never happened to me to see so many appointments to be filled up as on this day; and when I consider that it is only last Tuesday night

that the force of circumstances compelled those who were the confidential advisers of the Crown to relinquish the situations which they held, and that in this short space of time a new Government has been formed, I cannot help considering such despatch as holding forth the best hopes for the future, and proving the unanimity of my Government; and, my Lords, I will take this opportunity of saying that the noble Earl (Grey) and the other noble lords and gentlemen may be assured that they will receive from me the most cordial, unceasing, and devoted support.' The expressions of course are not exactly the same, but his speech was to this purpose, only longer. Brougham kissed hands in the closet, and afterwards in Council as Chancellor and Privy Councillor, and then went off to the House of Lords."

The King received Lord Grey cordially, and with much good humour; but he little knew the troubles that were impending over him.

"The King," we are told, as he received the resignation, "shed tears," which were no doubt genuine, for he was handed over, bound hand and foot, to a Liberal ministry. Reform was now upon him, and there was no one to whom he could look for protection. The Duke accepted his fall with the bitterest feelings, not against the enemy, but against his own friends, on whose heads he laid the consequences. In that curious, vast, and entertaining miscellany, the Wellington papers still being published in a fitful way, we find in a letter to his friend, General Malcolm, the fullest expression of this sense of injury. Referring to his celebrated declaration against reform, he says :

"It is very easy to say that this declaration broke down my Government. *That is not true.* My Govern-

ment was broken down by the Roman Catholic question. The Tories separated from me. The proof that I am right upon this point is that in the list of the division upon the second reading of the Reform Bill, there are no less than forty-six members against the Bill, who voted against my Government on the 14th November. The truth is my Government was broken down by a political combination (Whigs, Radicals, Canningites and Tories); and *the nobility and gentry and Royal Family of England will yet bite their thumbs for it.*"

## CHAPTER XXI.

IF ever there was a remarkable Ministry the new one deserved the title, comprising as it did men like Lord Grey, Lord Brougham, Lord Althorp, Lord Melbourne, Lord Palmerston, Sir James Graham, Lord J. Russell, Mr. Stanley, and Sir J. Campbell. Many of them had not at the time "made their mark," or full mark; but there were figures among them of a truly remarkable order for turbulent vigour and force of character, whose movements it is interesting to follow.

The First Minister was a more extraordinary character, who had again and again resisted all invitations to office under conditions of compromise, and had spent the later portion of his life in honourable retirement. Again and again during the last thirty years he was brought or forced to town by his party and friends, under the idea that place was in their grasp; but he had always declined to accept, save under terms which were not offered.

"I have lived," he said, on the eve of the defeat of the Reform Bill, "a long life of seclusion from office—I had no official habits—I possessed not the advantages which those official habits confer. I am fond of retirement and domestic life, and I lived happy and contented in

the bosom of my family. I was surrounded by those to whom I am attached by the warmest ties of affection. What, then, but a sense of duty, could have induced me to plunge into all the difficulties, not unforeseen, of my present situation ? What else, in my declining age,

What else could tempt me on those stormy seas,  
Bankrupt of life, yet prodigal of ease ?

I defy my worst enemy, if he has the most moderate share of candour, to find ground for charging me with any other motive. I have performed my duty as well as I am able. I shall still continue to do so, as long as I can hope to succeed in the accomplishment of an object which I believe to be safe, necessary, and indispensable."

Lord Grey, whose nature was thus retiring, and, to a certain extent, timorous, suffered now from having to encounter the enormous, innumerable difficulties that rose up on every side. It became almost agony to him. It is perfectly true that few have ever made such sacrifices in the public interest. He was advanced in life, and very different from the eminent but restless statesman who now directs affairs. He longed for the repose of a country life at Howick, and shrank from the agitation of politics. In this distaste he was exceeded by his colleague Lord Althorp, who was only drawn to politics by the pressure and persuasion of friends, and longed to get back to his farms, and his breeding of cows.

Among the officials who had joined the Ministers—not by any means an official *fainéant*, of which there are so many nowadays—there was one with purpose, character, even wit—a figure that stands out, in short. This was John Campbell, “plain John Campbell,” a

singular instance of Scotch cleverness and tenacity, who from a raw, poor lad, came finally to be Lord Chancellor, not a very wonderful thing in its way, but Lord Chancellor in his old age. A really flattering tribute this; for it proves that even the ancient lees are superior to other men's sprightly runnings. It is wonderful, indeed, to look back and see what power and vigour was then abroad. Such men and such minds as Brougham, Campbell, Lyndhurst, all struggling and battling, are not to be found now. Brougham, indeed, well deserves study; and it will be interesting to pause a little here and consider the quaint and other dramatic incidents connected with this portion of his history, for which we owe so much to the colouring of his "friend" and colleague, "Jock Campbell." To the intrepid and masterful Brougham the Premier was only too glad to delegate the duty of encountering the King and "managing" him. A more extraordinary character than the new Chancellor could not be conceived, from the union of amazing abilities—eloquence, combativeness, labour, and energy, with a natural and almost absurd vanity—which delighted in any and every opportunity, even to the prejudice of his actual interest, of coming before the public, by speech, writing, or action. These extraordinary "antics," as they might be called, he exhibited during the course of a long life, to the amusement of his enemies and embarrassment of his friends. Of the latter, however, he does not appear to have had many.

These two officials, both greedy for office, and the good things of office, soon quarrelled. It is likely enough that the origin of this particular wrangle rested with Brougham, ever sordidly jealous, and even angry at another's advancement; for he seemed to hold that all praise and all success in another instance was just

so much abstracted from *him*. That this is not speculation can be shown by his incredible treatment of Macaulay, and it furnished a key to his motives in the present transaction.

A highly piquant sensation was enjoyed in literary circles in the year 1869, when a posthumous work by Lord Campbell was published—the concluding volume to his well-known entertaining “Lives of the Chancellors.” Here he dealt with the lives of Lords Brougham and Lyndhurst, and, it was well known, the author, for many reasons, did not venture to publish it during the lifetime of Lord Brougham. On the other hand Brougham had himself prepared an autobiography, in which he spoke with much freedom, not to say bitterness, of his old friend and colleague. He was well aware of what the latter had in store for him; and this feeling no doubt sharpened his pen. Thus was presented the singular and cynical spectacle of two octogenarians, both of whom had been Chancellors, both gifted with singular powers of vigorous writing, waiting on each other, each furnished, to use Dr. Johnson figure when speaking of Mallet, with a loaded gun, which he was afraid to discharge during his “friend’s” lifetime!

Such a condition of things was but a just retribution, and shows the embarrassment to which those who indulge their animosities reduced themselves. Certainly, to find two veterans—one, indeed, was in his ninetieth year—thus confronting each other, was anything but edifying.

Lord Campbell, however, who had held over his charged weapon for so many years, was by a fitting Nemesis destined to die before the subject of his dislike. The stroke of death overtook him in 1861, while

Lord Brougham perhaps found a satisfaction in surviving him. The long-delayed memoir was at last issued, in 1868, and the aged Brougham was unable to peruse the venomous chronicle of his own life. This record is certainly amusing from its vivacity and bitter ridicule, secret thrusts and dramatic interest; for accounts of political events and ministerial and Parliamentary changes are generally of a dry character; but this is so "spiced" and seasoned as to become highly entertaining.

It is difficult to account for this vendetta between two such successful men. Both were virtually Scots—Lord Brougham having a Scotch mother, and having been born and reared in that country—both were keenly alive to their own interest, and likely to use due control over their feelings and prejudices; both had a steady course of success, and reached to the highest honours. Thus there seemed to be ample scope and verge enough for both. The memoir of Lord Campbell recently published by his daughter sets him forth in an amiable light, as mellowed by old age and surrounded by his friends.

Jealousy, it might seem, was the cause, and nothing will better show the relations of the two men than an account given by both of a single transaction. This arose in 1833, in reference to the retirement of a Baron in the Exchequer. Campbell was Solicitor, and as the Attorney-General (Horne) was supposed to fill the vacancy, Campbell naturally expected to become Attorney. Through some scruple of Mr. Horne's as to trying cases of murder, he declined promotion; and the result appears to be that another was appointed to be Judge. This arrangement of course made no promotion for the Solicitor, and who was much aggrieved. Here is

Campbell's account, which is besides a fair specimen of his feeling.

After ascribing to the loss of his brother James "many of the fantastical acts and the misfortunes which soon after marked the Chancellor's career," he continues, "but I doubt whether anything could have saved this misguided man from the promptings of the evil genius which he carried about with him in his own breast, and which was ever ready to lead him astray." He represents Brougham as informing him that he was actually Attorney-General. He then met Horne, who had declared he had been juggled out of office; that Brougham had assured him that "an Equity Baronship"—a new legal monster—was to be created specially for him, so that he would not have to go circuit. When Horne saw Lord Grey the latter exclaimed: "Equity Baron! it is the first time I have heard of such an arrangement, and I cannot say that the Cabinet, much less that Parliament, will sanction it. I understood from the Chancellor that you wished to become a *puisne* judge in the common course, without any special stipulations; and I confess for one, I do not understand a *puisne* not being ready to discharge all the duties of the office."

"Brougham," Lord Campbell says, "protested he had never said anything of the kind," and the result was that the tricked Attorney-General had to go back to the bar, while Campbell took his place.

Having heard Campbell upon Brougham, let us now hear Brougham upon Campbell:

"Nothing could exceed the gratitude which Campbell loudly *professed* for his appointment (as Solicitor-General). From all I have known and observed of his character, I much doubt if he *felt* all he said and wrote to me on the subject. I really believe he kept a form

of thanksgiving, that he might always be ready to express, in appropriate terms, his gratitude in the event of any of his everlasting applications for something for himself or his connections succeeding.

"His applications to me began very soon—in fact, almost the day after I was in office, he pestered me to appoint a Mr. John Campbell, Deputy-Registrar of the Court of Bankruptcy. He pressed this so strongly, urging it as one of the greatest favours that could be conferred upon him, that I acceded; and he then wrote to me expressing his warmest thanks, and saying it was a kindness he never should forget. When I helped, and that most willingly, to make him Solicitor-General in November, 1832, *his letter of thanks was almost a facsimile of his letter in Mr. John Campbell's case.*"

They continued on apparently cordial terms, the Chancellor addressing him as "dear Jack." They met at Edinburgh in 1834, when Campbell tells us, "I am sorry to say this was the last instance of cordiality between Brougham and myself till ten long years had elapsed. He now began and long continued, without any fault of mine, to persecute me . . ." Their new quarrel was connected with the death of Leach, Master of the Rolls, to whose place the greedy Attorney at once laid claim.

"I ought," says Campbell, "to have had the offer of succeeding to the vacancy. But the notion of my becoming an Equity Judge was very distasteful to him. So Pepys was appointed Master of the Rolls. I contented myself with protesting against the precedent, knowing that plausible reasons might be given for it. *Brougham felt that he had injured me, and he hated me accordingly.* But ere long," adds Mr. Attorney, with intense satisfaction, "he found himself 'the engineer

hoist with his own petard'—driven from office, in short."

Now for Brougham: "Almost as soon," he says, "as this could be known, I found that Campbell had written to Melbourne urging his claim as Attorney-General, for the Rolls. Now this was rather too bad, because I had taken an opportunity, on his being appointed Attorney, to tell him *most distinctly*, that in the event of a vacancy, an Equity man would probably be selected by the Government. Great, then, was my surprise, when I found that the moment the breath was out of Leach's body, Melbourne had been written to. I presume no notice was taken of the application, because it was followed up by an immediate attack upon *me* in a letter."

Pepys being appointed, Campbell had to swallow his disappointment with a wry face.

"When in November," goes on Brougham, "I saw Lyndhurst, I told him of Campbell's attempt upon the Rolls, and entered fully into all the circumstances. He said I could not possibly have acted otherwise, but added, that for one reason he rather regretted what had happened, because it would to a certainty make Campbell my enemy for life. I could not see the matter in that light, but he insisted. 'Depend upon it,' said he, 'Campbell will never forgive you. And I'll tell how he will pay you off. You remember Wetherell said, when the "Lives of the Deceased Chancellors" came out, "Campbell has added a new sting to death." I predict that he will take his revenge on you by describing you with all the gall of his nature. He will write of you, and perhaps of me too, with envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness, for such is his nature.' I always thought Copley was much too hard upon

Campbell, yet the judgment he formed of men was generally as accurate as it was sagacious ; so perhaps he was right, and I wrong."

Of animosity such as this there have been many examples ; but scarcely anything parallel to the case of two men thus privately setting down their jealous hatreds, almost in the same words, and, after so many years, keeping them fresh and green. We might be inclined to doubt whether Wetherall gave the warning here set down to him.\*

Nothing is more piquant or characteristic than what followed in relation to the promotion of this tempestuous being. His confidence in his powers, his obstreperous vigour, his sociability, his popularity, made him an awkward but unavoidable colleague. In a commanding office, such as that of Lord Chancellor, he would dominate, and it was but too likely that he would not be content with any more subordinate post, such as the Attorney-General. His behaviour under this showed adroitness, and the account drawn by the acrid pen of Lord Campbell, in his amusingly vivacious " Chronicle of the Two Chancellors," seems to be founded in truth,

\* Lord Macaulay complains bitterly of the hatred and jealousy which Lord Brougham displayed to him when he became successful. This was certainly a disagreeable and marked feature in Brougham's character. But Macaulay himself was a good hater. His animosity to Croker was almost appalling, and it is amusing to find him even discovering a "loer of hatred" on his enemy's face. Much admiration for the great historian's domestic character has been excited, owing to Mr. Trevelyan's charming biography, which sets out the domestic virtues and affections of the hero, in a marked degree. But there were some striking blemishes in that otherwise amiable man, and a rather ungenerous animosity to those who opposed him, with an undue exultation in making money. It is remarkable to any one reading the life impartially, how seldom he can "give a good word" to any literary *confrère*—all are "mostly fools."

though it does not agree with that given by Brougham himself :

“ Now began his (Grey’s) difficulties, the greatest of which was—*what was to be done with Brougham?* He dreaded the member for Yorkshire in the Cabinet, and the danger was appalling of entirely excluding him from the new arrangement; for in that case he might head a Radical opposition, and Whig rule would be very brief. Lord Grey said to Lord Althorp: ‘ May he not belong to the Government, and be obliged to support us, without being in the Cabinet? He may like to be Attorney-General.’ Lord Althorp, who, from sitting so long with Brougham in the House of Commons, better knew his insubordinate nature, shook his head, but said there could be little harm in the offer if Lord Grey had the courage to make it. Brougham was accordingly asked to call on Lord Grey, and the offer was made, but was rejected with scorn and indignation.

“ What Brougham’s views and wishes originally were with respect to the office he should fill on the advent of the Whigs to power, I never could rightly learn. He positively refused on this occasion to make any counter proposal, or to give a hint of the sort of place he desired, saying that ‘ he was resolved not to be included in the arrangement, although he should be disposed to support the new Government *in as far as he conscientiously could.*’ These portentous words caused great dismay.”

It was like the sudden turn in a pantomime to find on one day Brougham thus dictating to the House:

“ What do we want with Ministers? We can do as well—(I speak with all possible respect of any future Ministry)—we can do as well without them as with them. I have nothing to do with them except in the

respect I bear them, and except as a member of this House."

A few days later it was known that he was Chancellor!

"I do not certainly know the exact turn which the negotiation then took, but I have heard," says Lord Campbell, "and I believe that, the Whig leaders still expressing a strong desire that Brougham should join them on his own terms, he caused a verbal intimation to be given to them that he expected an offer of the Great Seal. Lord Grey, although well stricken in years, was supposed at this time to be *platronically* under the fascination of the beautiful Lady Lyndhurst, and to have had a strong desire to retain her husband as his Chancellor."

Brougham's own account, however, gives a different view; but it must be said that men of his type, vain, fond of perpetually addressing the public, live in a succession of delusions as to the motives of their actions, and it is impossible to read his voluminous memoirs and note how every transaction is coloured to his own advantage. Here is his story :

"When I returned home that evening (the 16th) from Lincoln's Inn, where I had as usual gone after dinner, I found the following note from Lady Grey :

'MY DEAR MR. BROUGHAM,

'Lord Grey desires me to tell you that he has this moment been sent for by the King.

'Sincerely yours,

'M. E. GREY.'

"I found also several letters referring to what had passed in the House, and deprecating my supposed

intention to refuse office; and as it had been said that I should certainly refuse the Attorney-Generalship, when I went to Brooks's in the evening of Wednesday the 17th and the day after, I was surrounded by leading men among our friends, who strongly urged upon me the duty of not refusing it.

"On Wednesday the 17th, just as I was getting into the carriage, and going to chambers for the evening, Lady Glengall, a friend of Leach's as well as of mine, called with a view of ascertaining whether I was a candidate for the Great Seal, as Leach was bent upon it, and feared I might stand in his way. I told her to relieve his mind from any such alarm, for I never certainly dreamed of such a thing.

"On that same day, Grey asked me if I would accept the office of Attorney-General. I said, '*Most certainly not.*' And being again pressed, I said that I wished to have no office whatever. I was member for Yorkshire, and desired to keep by that and by my profession. This, I found, threw them into much difficulty. However, I remained firm till Thursday night, always assuring them of my hearty support out of office; and they as constantly saying that such support would not be sufficient for carrying on the Government, considering my position in Parliament and in the country. At length, late on Thursday evening, I was told that the negotiation must go off, on account of my persistent refusal. I repeated that I would take the Rolls, but nothing else, as I was resolved to remain in the House of Commons, and that I would not take a subordinate place like Attorney-General. I was then told the Rolls was impossible; and this, from something I had just heard, did not surprise me.

"Late on Thursday evening, November 18th, I received a note from Lord Grey asking me to come to him.

"Accordingly, I called on my way to Westminster, and he at once said that he had been desired by the King to ask if I would take the Great Seal. I stared, and said it was utterly out of the question—that I could not give up the bar, and take the chance of being turned out of office in two or three months—that my fortune was not sufficient to support a peerage—and that I would not on any account give up Yorkshire and my position in the House of Commons. He said he had received the answer I gave to Duncannon and Althorp, positively refusing to be Attorney-General, and that I would support the Government as zealously as possible without office; or that, if I must take office, the Rolls was the only place I could take. He added that, when he first saw the King and mentioned it, the King answered that the Rolls was quite impossible, and dwelt upon the Attorney-Generalship, which that day Lord Grey had told him I positively refused, though I knew that his taking the Government depended upon my consenting. The King then asked, on his (Lord Grey's) saying that the negotiation must go off, as Mr. Brougham was inflexible, if he had offered me the Great Seal? and on Lord Grey's saying he had not, because he supposed there was the same objection to that as to the Rolls,—'Oh no,' said the King, 'there is no one I would rather have for my Chancellor.'\* He afterwards once or twice alluded to this when in particularly good humour, and called me *his* Chancellor, as named by himself and not by my colleagues.

\* A favourite joke of His Majesty's family. King George III. was fond of using it.

"On Thursday evening, the 18th, I received from an intimate friend, who happened also to be much connected with the Duke of Wellington, the following note :

"Thursday Evening.

"It will be interesting, and possibly may be important (while all this Cabinet-making is going on) to you to know, *on the authority of Alara*, from whom I had it, that the Duke, on leaving the King on Tuesday, thus spoke to him : "If I may be permitted to give your Majesty one piece of advice, it is—on no account to allow Mr. Brougham to be Master of the Rolls ; for such a position, coupled with the representation of Yorkshire, would make him too powerful for *any Government.*"

"I told Lord Grey that I had every kind of objection to quit the House of Commons and the bar for a promotion so very precarious ; and I showed him how absurd such a sacrifice would be on my part. I made no objection to the construction of the Cabinet, as he described it, only I remarked that Graham's place was prematurely high ; observing that he was a kind of pocket-vote of Lambton's. Grey begged I would see Althorp before I rejected the office of the Great Seal ; assuring me the whole treaty was up, if I refused to concur. I then left him, having to go to the House of Lords at ten. There I argued a long, dull, dry, and complicated appeal case, chiefly turning on accounts and figures. I sent for Althorp and for Sefton, whom I often used to consult on my private concerns, having the greatest confidence in his soundness and judgment. They arrived separately before the time came for me to reply, and I made my junior take the reply off my

hands; so I went to the consultation-room, where I found Althorp, Sefton, Duncannon, and my brother James, whom Althorp had desired to come, as thinking he would be in favour of my acceptance."

After dwelling on the flattering appeal made to him by these persons, that he would break up the Government, etc., "I said I must have an hour to consider; and I sent for my brother and Denman, with whom I had a conversation upon the way in which Althorp had put the matter. They both said the same thing had occurred to them, and also to Sefton and Duncannon, after the meeting an hour ago. It ended in my letting Grey know that I yielded to their remonstrances."

Now, it may be asked, who could accept a story such as this, that a lawyer, even the most successful lawyer of his time, should hesitate to accept so brilliant a prize? The objection that there was a sacrifice of income, is only what might be urged by successful barristers who have accepted the great offices.\* Whether he was looking to the post of Master of the Rolls, which would have left him independent, it is difficult to say.

But there was another well-known personage whose character has been much contested of late, and who in a measure seems, at this period at least, to belong to both parties. This is Lord Lyndhurst, whom we shall consider in the next chapter.

\* At the present moment there could be named a *puisne* judge who was making between fourteen and fifteen thousand a year when he accepted the comparatively slender emoluments of a *puisne judgeship*.

## CHAPTER XXII.

NOTHING is so interesting as the discussion of a many-sided character, which offers different modes of treatment according to various prejudices or the comparative mystery of the transactions in which it figured. The popular or accepted idea of Lord Lyndhurst has been that he was a sort of Machiavcl, or a political adventurer, flexible in his views, and ready to take service with either side; while old people who recall his earlier days repeat stories of a similar flexibility in morals. An ingenious advocate has been cleaning the old picture, has "got off" half a century of dirt, has restored, and varnished, and regilt the frame. This task, it seems, was done to the order of the family, but there is a feeling, on reading the defence, that the whole is more laboured and ingenious than convincing.\* There

\* Thus, Lord Lyndhurst was in court, Lord Campbell tells us, when he heard the news of his mother's death. "He swallowed a large quantity of laudanum and set off to see her remains." "Now," says Sir T. Martin gravely, "had Lord Campbell really known anything of Lord Lyndhurst as a friend, he would have known that he took laudanum every night. Out of this practice Lord Campbell's *fiction was manufactured.*" But had he not shown that he knew something "as a friend"; for a person who takes laudanum every night would naturally take it on a sudden shock of this kind.—The

is too much of "Would it be likely that Lord Campbell," "Is it credible," "A man would not have deserved the name," etc. Many of Lord Campbell's charges and vituperative attacks are disposed of, by showing mistakes and inconsistencies in detail; but the impression remains that the story is right in the main. But even these refutations seem insufficient.

In appraising Lyndhurst's character it should always be kept in view that his contemporaries held him in suspicion. Wherever we look we are certain to find this distrust. A long list could be made of eminent persons who have recorded their unfavourable opinion of him. Lord Grey, Lord Tavistock, Lord Lansdowne, Lord laudanum of the day-time may have been a fiction, but not because it was also taken at night. Sir T. Martin quotes Lyndhurst as praising a display of great loyalty, zeal, and unanimity. "Strange words for one supposed to be devotedly attached to republican doctrines." But Lyndhurst was merely speaking of the zeal of the volunteers in the defence of the country against the French. There were plenty of republican patriots of that kind. Lord Campbell speaks of Copley attending anniversary dinners to celebrate Fox's return for Westminster and the acquittal of Horne Tooke and Hardy. "Now," says Sir T. Martin, "the wanton recklessness of this statement is proved by a reference to dates. Fox's election for Westminster took place in 1784, when Copley was twelve years old. Hardy and Tooke were tried in 1794 when Copley was at Cambridge." Now the "wanton recklessness" of this refutation might also be proved by a reference to dates. Fox was again elected for Westminster, in 1791, and dinners were often held to celebrate it and other of his victories. Again, "the anniversary of" Hardy's acquittal in its ordinary sense might surely be celebrated a dozen years after the event. This was what Lord Campbell meant. A legal story is quoted from the *Edinburgh Review* as an instance of the fashion in which fictions are "manufactured." Lord Lyndhurst, it seems, used to relate how at the trial of Watson and Thistlewood his leader, Wetherall, had suddenly collapsed in his speech, and that he himself not being prepared to go on was in mortal terror, when the other luckily recovered himself and spoke for a day and a half. This is declared to be incredible. A barrister who was not ready for his case

Denman, Mr. Canning, Stanley, Scarlett, Lord George Bentinck, and many more, all expressed hostile opinions of his character. Lord Denman, one of the most just and honourable of men, declared he had betrayed his cause, which he had undertaken, for the sake of his own interests—a serious charge from such a man. He spoke of him as a “Mephistopheles,” and described Canning as “exposing the baseness and impudence of his conduct.” Lord Derby refused to serve with him, as did also Lord George Bentinck.

But the most curious test of character is that, on almost every change of Government, we find this con-

would be a disgrace to the gown he wore, and “the greatest fool besides.” Wetherall rose late in the day—for twenty-two witnesses had been examined—and concluded his speech the same evening. There was no failure mentioned in the report. Next day, witnesses were examined and Lyndhurst spoke. Thus it turns out that Wetherall spoke for a singularly short time, and that Copley applied to have the examination of the witnesses postponed till next morning, a fair presumption that he wished for time. The thing is hardly worth minute investigation, but it may be said that there is not a barrister of eminence who is not occasionally surprised in this way, or has come into court unprepared.

Then of a story so pleasantly told of his spouting in the Temple, debating so excitedly that the laundresses and other attendants gathered round the windows, a cry of fire was raised and the engine brought. This is gravely refuted as a moral imputation; it is urged that the topics were purely legal, so he could not excite himself—that the Temple is shut up at night. But some of the scouts live in the Temple, or have business there of nights, bringing in suppers, oysters, etc., and it is possible to grow excited over a legal topic. It is absurd arguing on stories. Too much importance has been attached to the charge of Copley’s having been a Jacobin and having changed his opinions. But the real force of the accusations lay in his constant *denials*—this, too, joined with the shiftiness that seemed to attach to his political acts. There is a passage in Lord Campbell’s diary which he himself did not publish or use. When both were rising men at the bar, Scarlett reminded him that he used to be called “Jacobin Copley,”

sistent politician being proposed to be continued in office by the incoming party. This at least shows a belief in his flexibility, even though he did not accept. When the Tories fell in 1830, in a conversation with Mr. Greville, he seemed to say that the chancellorship ought to have been put in commission, and that he himself might have been called on to fill it in a few months. Without going deeply into politics, it certainly strikes one as singular that the appearance of Lyndhurst, in any striking situation, is always attended by some awkward shifty associations. A defence of some kind has to be offered, there is an air of *suspicion* about.

which the other said, "was a calumny invented at the time;" on which Scarlett replied, "I remember it perfectly."

Sir T. Martin gives substantial proof of the attentions and friendliness of Sir R. Peel when Lord Lyndhurst was advanced in life. But he tries to prove too much when he makes out that all the stories of hostility are Lord Campbell's fictions. The latter mentions Peel studiously pretending not to pay attention when Lyndhurst was enforcing his views. Friendliness at a late period does not negative previous hostility. As well might Sir T. Martin argue from the cordiality and affection that now exist between Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Chamberlain, that it was a pure fiction that only four years ago the latter had bitterly described the Premier as the "meanest of statesmen," with much more coarse abuse.

To show what little confidence Sir R. Peel had in Lyndhurst, Lord Campbell declares that he issued the famous Tamworth manifesto without consulting him. "What will be thought of such a statement," asks Sir T. Martin, "when the fact is that it was actually settled and adopted in Lord Lyndhurst's own dining-room?" But we find that this was merely a Cabinet dinner, where Sir Robert showed it to his colleagues when complete, to receive their approbation. The obvious meaning of Lord Campbell was that he had not thought fit to consult his important colleague on the paper, and had not planned or drawn it up in concert with him.

He describes Lord Eldon advising his friend to choose a short title, saying it would be easily and quickly written as he would have to sign it often. "He kept this friendly hint in view," says Sir T.

When the "true-blue" Tories declined serving under Mr. Canning, it seemed odd that Copley should have consented to join him. That in this first step he should be looked on as a deserter is characteristic, and this is shown by a little sketch in Lord Kingsdown's Recollections: "Lord Lyndhurst was engaged to dine the following week at a large political party of his old colleagues, I forget at what house, and having abandoned them, to their great annoyance, he had some doubt whether he should keep his engagement. After consulting with his wife, however (the then Lady Lyndhurst), they determined that it would be cowardly to stay away, and that they would face it out. Lord Lyndhurst says that he took down to dinner Mrs. Arbuthnot, who did nothing but reproach and abuse him the whole time that he sat by her; but Lady Lyndhurst was taken down by Lord Eldon, who was most marked in his attentions and courtesy to her, and in enabling her to overcome the awkwardness of the position in which she could not but feel she was placed." Lord Kingsdown adds significantly: "Soon after Lord Lynd-

Martin; "the result was *Lyndhurst*"—a long and rather difficult word to write. Sir T. Martin also decides that the "Lives of the Chancellors" belongs to the category of *unhappily long-lived books*, which Charles Lamb declared "no gentleman's library should be without." Lamb was not thinking of "long-lived books" but of annual registers, Josephus, court calendars, and such dreary literature, in which category the entertaining "Lives of the Chancellors" would never have been placed by "Elia." It is clear Sir T. Martin has the Caledonian's impenetrability to a jest. Lord Campbell tells how he met Lyndhurst at a dinner, when the latter told him that "he had some thoughts of dying a Whig in order that he (Campbell) might deal mercifully with him;" upon which Sir T. Martin exclaims in grave rebuke, "Lyndhurst die a Whig!" The drollery here is that the critic is so insensible to the jest, while the person he reprimands sees it.

hurst's appointment, some new King's Counsel were made, amongst others Brougham and my great friend (as he afterwards became) Bickersteth. These promotions sufficiently showed on what political support Canning relied." In the suspicious transaction of Lyndhurst's accepting the Chief Baronship from the Tories, Sir T. Martin appeals to Brougham's eagerness for his place, and his general assurances that there was no pledge given or asked for; it was a disinterested act done to secure a good judge for the public. These impartial appointments are so rare that one is inclined to be suspicious.

The reason of Brougham's eagerness is plainly revealed in his letters and conduct—he wished to have a precedent which would help *him* when he was out of office, as he was feverishly anxious to get back to freedom and public life. But as to the disinterestedness on the part of Lords Grey and Brougham, to which Sir T. Martin appeals, as proving that they had no proselytising views, it is enough to turn to their letters. Lord Grey writes : "It would materially contribute to our ease and comfort in the House of Lords ;" while Lord Brougham says himself, "*It would be a great thing*, as Lord Grey hoped, *for the party*—a hope which Lyndhurst's conduct soon showed to be grievously fallacious." So much for the public grounds of the appointment; it matters not that the hook did not land the fish, though the bait was taken. The point is, the showing that there was an impression that Lyndhurst was in the market. He himself was uneasy as to the ugly look of the transaction—this being the second of his promotions which was regarded askance—and asked favourable opinions from his friends all round. Sir T. Martin does not see that their answers are exceedingly guarded, Peel merely

wishing that "it may promote his happiness, whether he accept or decline;" the Duke of Wellington, "that he shall be happy at any arrangement that tends to give you convenience, etc.;" while another colleague bids him take the post "if he can accept with propriety"—which seems either to say it was a matter for his own nice sense of decency, or that, considering his own embarrassment in money matters, he might be privileged not to be too nice in matters of principle. Lyndhurst himself stated that the place came to him unsolicited, "and further that he was certain to be subjected to so much obloquy and abuse that he was inclined to decline." But here, again, the purely disinterested view is awkwardly disturbed by the vision of the beautiful Lady Lyndhurst, for whom, both Mr. Greville and Lord Brougham tell us, the venerable Grey had a gallant *tendre*. She herself told a friend that her admirer had given the place as a present for herself, to give to her husband. Thus, as I said, the transaction assumes a curious intriguing air. But when this appointment is taken in connection with a negotiation that was supposed to be going on, this view is strengthened.

Mr. Reeve, the editor of Mr. Greville's "Memoirs," tells us that "Lord Grey certainly contemplated giving the office of the Great Seal to Lord Lyndhurst," in itself an extraordinary fact, and significant of a flexible political temper. He was disgusted at its being given to Brougham, which seemed to support Mr. Greville's statement that he thought it would be put in commission, and that he would be called to hold it in a few months. He said "he had over and over again remonstrated with the Duke on the impossibility of carrying on such a Government." Again, "Lord Lyndhurst, who loses everything by the fall of the late Government, cannot

get over it, particularly as he feels that the Duke's obstinacy brought it about, and that by timely concessions and good management he might have had Lord Grey, Palmerston, and all that are worth having."

Further, Mr. Greville was assured by Mr. Arbuthnot that they knew that Lyndhurst was intriguing with the Whigs when the Duke was turned out in '30, and that it had been settled that he was to remain their Chancellor; and so he would have been if Brougham would have consented to be Attorney-General.

Thus this general appreciation of a man by his contemporaries is always significant. Mr. Arbuthnot was the faithful confidant of the Duke, as the Duke was of Lord Lyndhurst.

Mr. Ticknor, an impartial critic, had a conversation with Lord Althorp during one of his visits to this country. The nobleman, "in talking a little politics," spoke of Lord Lyndhurst, to whom he gave all praise for temper and ability, but declared to be entirely unprincipled. In illustration he cited the history of his own Bill for the Recovery of Small Debts, which, he said, Lord Lyndhurst (then Solicitor-General), on its being first mentioned to him, entirely approved :

"He (Lord Althorp) introduced the Bill, and was surprised beyond measure to have Copley oppose it in a very able and acute argument. He went over instantly and spoke to him on the subject, and reminded him of what he had previously said in its favour in private, to which 'Copley made no sort of reply but by a hearty laugh.' Lord Eldon, however, on whom Copley's promotion then depended, it was found afterwards, was opposed to the Bill, and this explained it."

Surely this generally diffused impression of lack of

honesty cannot have been so wholly unfounded. Even that old gossip, Sir R. Heron, who has left a not un-amusing book of "Notes,"\* records, with much political bias, this general feeling. He describes a well-known scene in the House, in a "Catholic" debate, when "Copley made a violent, and, as I thought, a weak speech against the Catholics, which entitled him to a most severe reply from Canning, under whose sarcasms he seemed to writhe; he could not even decently suppress his feelings, but soon afterwards, in the lobby, in the presence of many strangers, he declared his astonishment at the treatment he had received. 'Canning,' he said, 'ought to have seen that through the whole of his speech he had left a loophole, which might make him still capable of being his Chancellor to carry the measure.' So much for consistency and political probity! Abercrombie, who was present, to put an end to such a scene, asked him when he meant to bring forward his Chancery Bill. 'Perhaps never,' said Copley, 'let them do their own work: I am independent of them, and will have no connection with such men.' Yet this man was made Master of the Rolls by them a few months ago, and is now, it seems, to be made Chancellor by Canning."

The same lively and rather amusing gossip, Sir R. Heron, records another instance of the general belief in Copley. He also mentions a story of Lady Lyndhurst saying to someone who remarked on his changing his views: "And he would change again if you make it worth his while."

Again, a character is greatly influenced by certain

\* In which he repeated some charge against Mr. Croker, who accordingly flung himself on the book and tore it and its writer to pieces in a most savage review.

elements often found in the adventurer. Lyndhurst,\* it is well known, suffered all his life from money difficulties. He married two beautiful women. His second wife was the daughter of a certain Lewis Goldsmith, who wrote such books as "The Crimes of Cabinets," of which it is enough to say they were subsequently imitated by Mr. G. W. Reynolds.

The first Lady Lyndhurst was much admired, and drew many admirers to her husband's interest. His mode of living was certainly lavish, ostentatious, and extravagant. These elements, taken separately, are common enough; but combined in a prominent lawyer and functionary do unkindly suggest something of an adventurer, and would naturally entail unsteadiness of principle. The man with expensive tastes and little money is likely enough to be shifty. The beautiful Lady Lyndhurst figured in an extraordinary adventure, in which the Duke of Cumberland was concerned. There were then flourishing some scurrilous prints, whose gossip was supposed to be supplied by the servants; and in one of these papers appeared a strange story—that the Duke of Cumberland, calling on Lady Lyndhurst, had so outrageously misconducted himself that he was turned out of the house. This excited much astonishment; and it seems that, according to the Lyndhurst accounts, her story was true, and that the Duke had come a second time, when he contented himself with lavishing coarse

\* "Lady Lyndhurst still lives, and in this year has, it is announced, resigned her rooms in Hampton Court. The sort of society to be found among the dowagers of Wolsey's palace was not palatable to a clever woman accustomed to the old house in George Street, Hanover Square, where Lady Lyndhurst spent so many years in the midst of social brilliancy. The house built by Mr. Gore-Langton now stands on the site of Lord Lyndhurst's former house and that which stood next to it."

abuse on the lady's husband. It was only this second visit that she revealed ; the first she thought it better to conceal for a time. On seeing the paragraph, the Duke addressed the Chancellor, sending him a copy, "relating to a pretended transaction in your lordship's house ;" and desiring "to have Lady Lyndhurst's authority for contradicting this gross falsehood."

Now here was a plain issue, whether the Duke's statement was true or the reverse ; and it would not be easy to guess what sort of answer a straightforward and indignant husband would have sent. He would have simply declined to do what he was asked, or he would have written a stern rebuke. But, instead, Lord Lyndhurst's friends gave out that it would not do to have been drawn into a duel with the Duke, as he would have to resign his office, which he could not afford ; so he wrote : "The Lord Chancellor, with his duty, begs to acknowledge the favour, etc. He had never seen the paragraph, and regarded it as one of the series of calumnies to which Lady Lyndhurst has been for some time exposed." To say nothing of this bated tone, the word "calumnies" would seem to support the Duke's denial. No wonder it was pronounced "jesuitical and evasive," and no wonder the Duke wrote back that "it was not so explicit as he had a right to expect." He again repeated that the statement was false and calumnious, and he had a right to her sanction to the contradiction.

Nothing was more logical. If the Duke were slandered, the lady ought to clear him ; if he were not, then "her being the subject of calumnies" did not prove the case against him. After consultation with the Duke of Wellington, he wrote that "he did not wish to annoy Lady L." by troubling her. As to his being

excluded from their house, the grateful attachment they both felt to their sovereign made that impossible—all which was hardly straightforward. On which the Duke replied that the Chancellor *might have his own reasons* for not telling Lady Lyndhurst, and to his own friends he declared he had been encouraged, asked to dine, etc. In short, there is a shifting tone about the discussion which does not correspond with that of a manly nature. He certainly was too amiably obsequious and forbearing. It will be seen later, that when the Peel Government set itself to gaining over the editor of *The Times*, the duty was entrusted to Lord Lyndhurst, who, at interviews and dinners at his house, succeeded in cementing a formal alliance with the great power, Mr. Barnes.

In spite, therefore, of all ingenious pleadings, the presumption against this personage is far too strong to be easily disposed of. But it will be found, when we come to consider his share in a certain political crisis, that the epithet used of "intriguer," is scarcely too strong. Finally, it is recorded of him that he carefully destroyed all his papers, letters, etc., before his death, a circumstance not unlikely to rouse suspicion where character is involved.

What strikes one perpetually in this view of society is the character and individuality of all concerned. The lawyers particularly were men of far more mark, and far less *professional*, than they are now. Brougham, Copley, Eldon, Denman, were all much more than mere law officers. Even such a man as Leach was a character in his way, and represented the "legal adventurer," in which category Lyndhurst has been ranked by distempered partisans.

But, as a contrast to this "schemer," associated with

one of the most pathetic tragedies of this time, was the catastrophe of Romilly, the admirable and popular lawyer, whose sad fate excited the sympathy of the kingdom, and of which the details are little known to our generation. His political life was distinguished by little excitement, but more remarkable was his love of home and of his wife, to which, with a rare self-denial, he subordinated all his hopes of professional advancement.

His attachment—constant and ever-increasing as they grew old together—offers the greatest evidence of the charm of disposition of this amiable man, and it is melancholy to think that this devotion should have actually been the cause of his disastrous end. He was always welcomed at Bowood, Lord Lansdowne's place, which he visited nearly every year, and in 1796 he had, by an accident, all but interrupted the agreeable series. Of this special occasion, he writes some twenty years later :

“To what accidental causes are the most important occurrences of our lives sometimes to be traced! Some miles from Bowood is the form of a white horse, grotesquely cut out upon the downs, and forming a landmark to a wide extent of country. To that object it is that I owe all the real happiness of my life. In the year 1796 I made a visit to Bowood. My dear Anne, who had been staying there some weeks, with her father and her sisters, was about to leave it. The day fixed for their departure was the eve of that on which I arrived, and if nothing had occurred to disappoint their purpose, I never should have seen her. But it happened that on the preceding day she was one of an equestrian party which was made to visit this curious object. She overheated herself by her ride; a violent cold and pain

in her face was the consequence. Her father found it indispensably necessary to defer his journey for several days, and in the meantime I arrived. I saw in her the most beautiful and accomplished creature that ever blessed the sight and understanding of man. A most intelligent mind, an uncommonly correct judgment, a lively imagination, a cheerful disposition, a noble and generous way of thinking, an elevation and heroism of character, and a warmth and tenderness of affection such as is rarely found even in her sex, were among her extraordinary endowments. I was captivated alike by the beauties of her person and the charms of her mind. A mutual attachment was formed between us, which at the end of a little more than a year was consecrated by marriage. All the happiness I have known in her beloved society, all the many and exquisite enjoyments which my dear children have afforded me, even my extraordinary success in my profession, the labours of which, if my life had not been so cheered and exhilarated, I never could have undergone—all are to be traced to this trivial cause."

"Of the worth of Lady Romilly's mind," says Mr. Croker, "her nearer friends only could be adequate judges; but those who remember her in society will admit that her husband, who never ceased to be a passionate lover, has but little exaggerated her personal charms. She was lively, elegant, and pretty."

With this lady Romilly spent some twenty-two happy years, and it was destined that they were not to be separated in death longer than a few days, when the disastrous issue which filled England with grief closed his life.

"Lady Romilly died," says his editor, "on the 29th of October, 1818. Her husband survived but for three days the wife whom he had loved with a devotion to

which her virtues, and her happy influence on the usefulness of his life, gave her so just a claim. His anxiety during her illness preyed upon his mind and affected his health; and the shock occasioned by her death led to that event which brought his life to a close, on the 2nd of November, 1818, in the sixty-second year of his age."

This would be read as nothing very exceptional by the average reader, but the catastrophe is best described in the narrative of his old friend Dumont, a most natural and affecting one, and told at the inquest:

"Mr. Stephen Dumont, of Geneva, then stated that he was one of the Representatives of the Council at Geneva, but had been in England previous to the restoration. 'I have,' he said, 'been connected with Sir Samuel Romilly a great many years; my intention was to have spent the summer with my best friend, Sir Samuel, and his lady; but the state of Lady Romilly's health was such that she was removed to Cowes, in the Isle of Wight.' Here the witness, in great anguish, said it would be better that he should read the letters he had then received from Sir Samuel. A letter was then read from Sir Samuel, dated from Cowes, 27th September, inviting Dr. Dumont to visit him there; saying that he could not promise him any pleasure, as he considered Lady Romilly in a very perilous state, as the physicians did not say she was out of danger; and concluded thus: 'She is considered by her medical attendants in some danger. She is for the present a little better, and I take care neither to let her nor the poor children see the anxiety I feel, but it costs me a great deal; with all this, do not suppose I have not resolution to undergo everything to preserve my health for my children's sake.'

He then went on : “ ‘ I arrived in the Isle of Wight on the 3rd of October, and Lady Romilly was well enough to spend a few hours in company ; but Sir Samuel seemed to have no confidence, and notwithstanding that recovery he was in the same state of anxiety. Lady Romilly had a relapse, and was for some days in a great state of suffering. During that time nothing could equal the excruciating pains of Sir Samuel but his fortitude and resignation. He was almost entirely deprived of sleep, and I saw he began to entertain the greatest apprehension from that circumstance. Twice or thrice he has expressed to me his fears of mental derangement. Once he sent for me in the middle of the night, at least at two o’clock in the morning, and spoke to me of a dream he had had full of horrors, and said that an impression had remained upon his mind as if the dream had been a reality. He asked me if I did not consider that as a proof that his mind was broken, and his faculties impaired. Conversations about his children generally restored a certain degree of peace to his mind, and sometimes he proposed plans for their education and future establishment. On Thursday, the 29th of October, about ten o’clock, while at Cowes, in the Isle of Wight, he was informed by his nephew, Dr. Roget, for whom he always showed the same attachment as for one of his sons, that his lady was no more. I have omitted to say that the two sisters of Lady Romilly came on the Tuesday previous, and he said he could shed no tears when he saw them. He told me his brains were burning hot. He left Cowes with great reluctance the next day (Friday), but he declared he would be governed entirely by Dr. Roget and his friends. I accompanied him, and on Friday we slept at Winchester. He felt extremely exhausted. Dr. Roget

slept in the same room, and Sir Samuel's night was extremely restless. The next morning I observed marks of great agitation, which he tried to subdue ; he was constantly tearing his gloves, or the palm of his hand, scratching his fingers and his nose, and some blood came from his nose. When we arrived at an inn on the road he was so weak that we could proceed no further. I had proposed to him not to come to Russell Square, but to take some other house for the present. He answered, that he was likely to be laid up for some time, and he was desirous of getting home, and he proceeded ; but I observed more violent signs of agitation still, more tearing of his hands and of his nose. In a moment that he was shutting his eyes and wringing his hands, I took the hand of his daughter and placed it in his hand ; upon which, opening his eyes, and having perceived what I had done, he cast upon me an unutterable look of gratitude, and embraced his daughter. When we arrived in Russell Square he made great efforts to compose himself, and went to his library, and threw himself upon a sofa, quite in a manner that was alarming to me ; then for some moments he was joining his hands, as in a state of delirium, but he spoke nothing. A moment after he got up, took my arm, went round the two rooms, and appeared to me to be in the state of a man dying of an internal wound. About seven in the morning of Monday, Dr. Roget came to me in a state of extreme anxiety, telling me that his uncle was much worse, with a violent fever, uttering some expressions in a state of perturbation, and complaining that he was distracted. I went then to Holland House, at Kensington, to see his three youngest children, whom Lord Holland had taken from school to his house, and to make some arrangements with respect to them.

When I returned to Russell Square, about half-past three, I found one of the servants in tears, and Dr. Roget in a state approaching to despair. My first feeling was stupor and astonishment. I never had any apprehension of the act by which he had lost his life. The intimate knowledge that I had of his high principles of duty, of his moral and religious fortitude, of his love for his country, and of his—(much affected)—of his parental affection, totally excluded from my mind every suspicion or idea of the catastrophe that has happened.'

"His mind, overwrought by grief, had given way under the strain, and this most amiable and affectionate of men had destroyed himself."

## CHAPTER XXIII.

Two very prominent figures in the ministry were those of Lord Althorp, a most interesting character, whose position was a peculiar one, and Lord Durham. The first was a Parliamentary leader, rude and uncouth of speech, scarcely able to put a few sentences together; a Chancellor of the Exchequer ignorant of all the rules of finance, and astonishing his friends with the most crude and even ignorant statements as to finance. Another singular note in his character was his hatred of politics. He pined to be free, to get back to the country, and, in one serious crisis when he was in office, ministerialists were delighted to find, from his dejected, despairing face, that the difficulty had been surmounted. There is something piquant in this inversion of the usual conjectural inferences.

Yet with such qualifications he was thought essential to his party, for his name was evidence of honesty and faith and loyalty. He was beloved by his friends; and "Jack," as he was nicknamed, who could neither speak nor reason, and who was ever trying to get rid of office with the ardour that most men seek it, was such a factor in politics, that the mere promotion of him to the Upper House actually overturned a ministry. There is some-

thing very pleasing in reading the history of this genuine, unaffected man : his dislike of his work, coupled with his wish to sacrifice himself for his friends ; his affection for his family, his love of the country, his emancipation, and enjoyment of his beloved farm and his placid life.\*

The other very conspicuous figure in the ranks of the Reformers of 1832 is Lord Durham, whose political character is interesting from a certain intractable passion or fervour which too often betrayed his own interest. There are not found so very many political men with this colouring in their nature, and in many instances the reader finds little beyond the dry bones of Parliamentary "speeches," and a steady ascent from one office to one still higher, or change from being "out" to being "in." Canning, Fox, Gladstone, Disraeli, Castlereagh, are specimens of the more romantic class ; Addington, Lord Liverpool, might be accepted as the official and useful, but uninteresting politicians. Lord Durham's life is but little familiar to the general public, save from Mr. Trevelyan's short and picturesque paragraphs ; yet his career excites at least curiosity and much interest, as a turbulent, intolerant, but still thoroughly genuine and unselfish person. He was not one of those pliant, self-seeking politicians who, if they are above any necessities of life, absolutely hunger for office or place. Lord Durham's life was short—he died comparatively young—but it was hardly marked with brilliancy, and must have been one of utter disappointment to him.

"Durham," says one of his friends (Lord Brougham), "had many good and some great qualities, but all were

\* On his death-bed he made the odd declaration that he anticipated happiness in the next life, because he had received so many blessings in the present. The presumption, at least, is the other way.

much obscured, and even perverted, by his temper, which was greatly affected by the painful liver disease under which he laboured all his life. He was in the best sense of the word high-spirited. He was generous, open, and incapable of falsehood or meanness of any kind. His abilities were great, though not cultivated by instruction, for his education had been much neglected. He was very modest respecting his own merits, and favourable towards those of others, with even an enthusiasm that was exceedingly touching and amiable. Instead of pluming himself on his talents, he really was chiefly fond of exalting his wealth and family."

From this it will be seen how one of the most melancholy disabilities in the world, for a political leader, is to suffer from the malady above alluded to as, besides the physical torment, it brings with it the chronic irritability, which is fatal to the reserve, and patience, and good humour so necessary in political life.

According to Lord Brougham he was passionately desirous of a peerage, not in the ordinary advancement, but of receiving, *per saltum*, the immediate distinction of an earldom. He pressed this rather unusual claim with great eagerness.

It is not a surprise to find this most Radical of Peers complaining that he was "to be put on a level with a barber's son."\*

"I know very well," he wrote to Lord Brougham, in 1827, "that many persons think, by accepting any peerage whatever, I shall descend from the prominent

\* *A propos* of this remark about "the barber's son," I have heard it stated that this eminent Radical kept up the highest and strictest state at his mansion, at Lambton, exacting from even his own family and dependents homage to his magnificence.

position I now occupy. Certainly, if it is an inferior rank, they are right, as the situation of the first Commoner is more marked and honourable than that of the last Baron.

"Coke, in 1806, was offered an earldom ; he refused it. His son-in-law, Mr. Anson, was made a viscount. The present Lord Londonderry was given an earldom for his son by Lady Frances Vane ; and in 1784, Sir James Lowther was created Earl of Lonsdale and Viscount Lowther. The latter is an unanswerable precedent ; his situation was exactly like mine—large landed possession, and great influence in the north, added to a most ancient family, were his claims. They are mine, without taking into account my own situation in the political world."

His friend wrote back, disposing of all these precedents. Lord Lonsdale had vast estates and many boroughs. Mr. Coke had peerage in his family already.

"He had a way of reckoning his income by some great years of the yield of his coal-mines, and then he would say his property was so many thousands a year ; but I said : 'My dear fellow, I can assure you that the Darlingtons, Fitzwilliams, Thanets, Lonsdales, only reckon by *surface*, and reduce mere coal-owners, like Curwen, to a low figure.'"

It had been a common subject of aspersion by his enemies that he was somewhat deficient in personal courage, though ready enough in speech. At an election in Northumberland, in 1820, he was enabled to dispose of these calumnies in what was considered the most satisfactory manner, and such attacks ceased from that moment.

"Beaumont" (the other candidate), he wrote, "at last, on Friday, broke out against me, and used, on the

hustings, language that I was compelled to notice. He seems to have been long seeking an opportunity, and he certainly could not have chosen a worse (as you will see by the report), of quarrelling with me. A meeting was appointed for the same evening at nine. We arrived on the ground (General Grey and I) at the time; Beaumont's second came after us, and said that so many people had assembled at the skirts of the town, three miles from which we were to go, that he feared we should be interrupted, and had sent Beaumont back. He then appointed four o'clock the next morning. We then settled to meet in the neighbourhood of Belford, and at four o'clock we at last overcame all interruptions, and met near Bamburgh Castle. We exchanged shots without any injury—the seconds interfered, and the affair terminated."

This is told gaily, and with an absence of *fan-faronnade* which is significant of character.\*

After the Reform Bill passed, we find him resigning his office, a step Lord Palmerston tells us was "really on account of his health, for had he been well, nothing, I believe, would have persuaded him to go out." He was never to return to office again. When, however, others, like Lord Ripon, and Sir J. Graham, and Stanley withdrew, Lord Palmerston raises the curtain a little and affects to have discovered Lord Durham's hand. "What is most provoking, the break-up was, I am convinced, brought on by an intrigue planned and directed by Durham, who fancied if he could drive them out he should, as a matter of course, come in; and great, I understand, was his mortification, disappointment, and

\* Lord Ellenborough describes one of the quaint old customs of an election still surviving in 1830—the candidate entering the town arrayed in a cocked hat.

astonishment, that no offer was made to him. We all protested against it, both on account of his extreme opinions and because his coming in would have given a new character to the Government. It was suggested that he should be sent to Paris. I protested against it, saying that Durham I knew to be my enemy, and was a man I could not trust. Grey assured me I was mistaken. It was found next morning that Lord Durham would not listen to any such proposal."

In June, 1833, we find him on board his yacht, the *Louisa*, named after his wife, and cruising off Ryde, writing to his friend Duncombe: "Pray continue to let me know what is going on. Yesterday we went out with our new sail and four tons more ballast, as it was discovered that some had been stolen last year. I had Corke on board, who steered her. Her trim was quite a different thing. The breeze was good, and we had a fair trial of her. She beat the *Arundel* 'in a canter'—ran past her as if she had been anchored. Don't expect me to talk politics—I am quite wretched about the state of things."

After his success at the Edinburgh dinner to Lord Grey, he became quite elated. A dinner in London was talked of, and he was informed of the plan by his friend Duncombe. "If the dinner was really desired by the great mass of metropolitan electors, and would be not merely well but warmly supported, and the attendance more than usual, I should like it much. It would do great good to the cause of real Reform, and it would be a gratifying compliment to me, who certainly did them more good than anyone; and up to this hour I have never received the slightest acknowledgment of my exertions. Grote would be an excellent chairman. You must take care not to be too prominent, or they will say,

from your intimate friendship with me, that the affair was got up from private and personal motives."

There is something pleasant and natural in this candour. A little later he wrote thus, *à propos* of the Tories coming in :

" Nothing can be better than the spirit here. Surely it must be the same everywhere. The people cannot look quietly on whilst the Dictator is preparing to crush them under his iron heel. Can you be spared from town ? If so, pray come north.

" Ever yours,

" D."

On every side, therefore, his unhappy temper seems to have raised him up enemies. The cry was : " No one could get on with him." And this he appeared to own himself. Writes the late Lord Dalling : " One of my brothers, Lord Lytton, was dining at home, where there was some discussion as to a probable successor to Lord Grey. Lord Durham being mentioned, he himself said : ' Melbourne is the only man, because he is the only one of whom we would not be jealous.' "

However, he was presently consoled - with the embassy to St. Petersburg, an office which suited his splendid tastes by an odd contradiction. Thence he wrote gay letters to his friend Duncombe, the Radical Member for Finsbury. In one was a highly characteristic protest against infringing our monopolies :

" I see you have been presenting a petition against me from your constituents. Do they know what monopoly means ? Why, exclusive privilege of selling anything. Now, all Finsbury may go and open mines and sell coals in the county of Durham. But the secret is,

speculators want Parliament to give them an  
age over private individuals, by being enabled to  
their way through other persons' lands whether  
ill or not—an exclusive privilege denied to us.  
useless, false cry of monopoly is always raised to  
some City job. But enough of this. How are  
my dear D.? Shall you pay me a visit this  
r? It would repay you the trouble.

"Ever yours,

"D.

"you know of a case of good *dry* champagne,  
nd it me through the Foreign Office also."

en the Whig Ministry of 1834 was formed he  
ce more excluded, for, as *The Globe* declared,  
member who has been in the Cabinet with Lord  
n is disposed to sit with him again." He thus  
a sort of political pariah.

en Lord Melbourne's second ministry was formed,  
still determined to exclude this troublesome but  
ul man. However, in 1838 he was provided with a  
me appointment in Canada under a sort of Special  
ssion. Here, however, he was destined to em-  
'erything.

Canada, the behaviour of this unlucky man  
ed the present policy of a later Viceroy in

In their proceedings there is indeed a curious  
. The Radical Earl of Durham was opposed by  
loyalists of the country, who deprecated his  
tion as only encouraging "the natives," and  
ing authority. Not content with this course,  
Durham, like many a Radical, actually took to  
ding the laws, and, in defiance of an Act of  
ment, banished certain persons to Bermuda. This

excited quite a commotion, and ministers, with the aid of Lord Brougham, contrived to pass an Act of Indemnity, for when he was despatched to Canada as Governor, he stipulated for the steady support of his own Government in some striking, almost revolutionary, reforms. This was promised to him. Many exciting debates took place in Parliament, arising out of his high-handed conduct; but though supported by his Government it was but an official sort of protection, and the personal dislike which followed worked against him. A letter of extraordinary compliment was despatched to him from the Government at home :

“ I cannot conclude this despatch without expressing the deep regret which Her Majesty’s Government have *felt at the embarrassment to which you will have been subjected by the recent proceedings in Parliament*, regarding the difficult and delicate question of the disposal of the persons charged with treason in Lower Canada. On a deliberate review of the whole case, Her Majesty’s Government are enabled distinctly to repeat their approbation of the spirit in which those measures were conceived, and to state their conviction that those measures have been dictated by a judicious and enlightened humanity, and were calculated, under your authority, to satisfy the ends of justice, although in some respects they involve a departure from its ordinary forms. The Government are also persuaded that your lordship will be equally anxious with themselves to avoid, as far as possible, giving even a plausible ground of cavil or objection to hostile criticism. It only remains for me to assure you of the undiminished confidence which Her Majesty’s Government repose in you; and of their earnest desire to afford you the utmost support

in the discharge of the arduous duties with which you are entrusted. I have, etc."

This mode of speaking of the House of Commons, who had merely stigmatised a violation of the law, seems strange. But it did not soothe, as it was intended to do, the excitable Earl. In a fury of vexation, without waiting to have his resignation accepted according to the usual form, he determined to set off and return home; but not before making excited appeals to the people, or rather populace, with undignified protests against the conduct of the English House of Commons.

"I do not return to England from any feelings of *disgust* at the treatment I have personally experienced in the House of Lords. If I could have been influenced by any such motives, I must have re-embarked in the very ship which brought me out; but that system of *parliamentary persecution* to which I allude, commenced from the moment I left the shores of England. I return for these reasons, and these alone—the proceedings in the House of Lords, acquiesced in by the ministry, have deprived the Government in this province of all moral power and consideration. In truth and in effect, the Government here is now administered by *two or three peers, from their places in Parliament.*"

The agreeable "dandy," Mr. Thomas Duncombe, had gone out to him on a visit, and describes the junketings, yacht sailings, etc. But these were brought to a close by this unlucky business, and he sailed home with his friend in the *Inconstant*, which twice took fire and once ran on a rock; so that ill-luck seemed to pursue this tempestuous character. On his arrival he found himself at war with his colleagues and disgraced. He considered they had sacrificed him. His friends laid much of his

fall to the account of Lord Brougham, but who says "he rendered the best service in my power by bringing in a Bill to indemnify him for his utterly illegal acts. John Russell attacked my Bill, and would have thrown it out, but refrained on the lawyers satisfying him that Durham was a ruined man unless it passed ; for actions to an enormous amount would have been brought against him, and must have succeeded."

It is curious to read *The Times* of the day on this business.\*

"No episode in our political history is more replete with warning to honest and public-spirited men, who, in seeking to serve their country, forget what is due to their own interests and their own security, than the story of Lord Durham. He accepted the Governorship of Canada during a supreme crisis in the affairs of that colony. He carried with him thither the confidence of the great body of his fellow-countrymen ;—a confidence which he had conciliated by his earnest and courageous demeanour in the welfare of Parliament. From his political opponents, in the place of generous forbearance, he met with unremitting persecution ; and, as for the character of the support which he obtained from those Ministers who had themselves placed him in the forefront of the battle, it is more becoming to leave it for Tory historians to recount the tale. But Macaulay was

\* "True to their base and selfish instincts, the time-serving Whigs, in deference to whom the noble Earl had, at great personal sacrifice, placed himself in the van of their Canadian conflict, have at the first shot deserted, dishonoured, and dismissed him ; nor is it possible that his lordship can retain their commission for a single day ; unless, indeed, that proud and generous spirit, heretofore reputed as the very model of sensitive honour, shall now be so abased by contumely as to submit ignominiously to those freedoms with his character and coronet which formerly he would have perilled his life to resent." —

mistaken in expecting that Lord Durham would call his enemies to account, and still less his friends. His heart was broken, but not estranged. His tongue, which had too seldom, perhaps, refrained from speaking out what was brave and true, could keep silence when silence was demanded by the claims of past alliances and the memory of old friendships. During the remnant of his life, Lord Durham continued to support the Whig Cabinet with all the loyalty and modesty of a young peer hopeful of an under-secretaryship."

Disappointed, broken, and sunk into obscurity, he never again emerged from his retirement. His career offers a melancholy instance of the fatal effects of "temper" and intractability in politics; and it is curious that a man of far greater talents than himself should have found his career destroyed almost at the same time from the same causes. His life was perpetually fretted by disease and irritability. He died in 1840, a disappointed man.

There was something tragic, as there ever is, in these perverse men of talent, who, sooner than subdue themselves and their temper, prefer to let it lead them on to failure. Imagination can always supply the picture of their unrestrained nature preying on them from rage and disappointment. Lord Durham's career was destined to be one of ill-luck and mortification.\*

\* A little additional celebrity was attached to this family from the artistic association with Lawrence's much-admired portrait of Master Lambton, Lord Durham's son.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

The relations of the King with his minister, Earl Grey, during the critical time of introducing and passing the great Reform Bill, were destined to be of rather a strained and awkward kind. Though the Duke of Clarence had always voted with the "Liberals" on the great questions, yet his new situation had had the invariable effect, and he now looked with alarm and distrust on the measure. There were, indeed, a large number of the Whig party, who, while willing to remove all that constituted the subservience of any portion of the community and abate the ascendancy of Toryism, were by no means prepared "to alter the lines of the Constitution" or abolish the influence of those important controlling factors—the King and the Lords. It now began to occur to not a few that the alteration of the franchise might cover an attempt in this direction, and the King himself was really one of the first to anticipate this effect, forecasting that "the people," i.e., the House of Commons, were in future to have the sole direction of the country. He was led to this view by an immediate and curious experience, and which, in truth, marks an era in the constitutional history of the country. The power of choosing and dismissing ministers had been

exercised at pleasure by the last two monarchs; and nothing is more curious, and perhaps perplexing, to the reader of the history of the times, than the power of this setting aside a ministry and of ignoring even a hostile majority. This would seem to have been absolutely founded on the influence of the King's name, the power of the Court, the power to give "pensions on Ireland," place, military offices, etc.; supported also by the House of Lords, in which were the "King's friends," and by family boroughs in the House of Commons. These were the materials of control; and certainly, if "Kings, Lords, and Commons" were to be elements of equal force in the Constitution, the royal one would appear to be furnished with unfair advantages. While the House of Commons claimed then to fill the function that the House of Lords does now, on the other hand, the power of the House of Lords seems year by year to be more and more effaced.

It must have been a disagreeable surprise for the "Sailor King" to have found himself confronted by this new state of affairs. It was indeed most significant. Earl Grey, an admirable type of character, the "soul of political honour," known to have made many sacrifices to his faith, now advanced in life and full of years, was to show in the conduct of this measure the most extraordinary energy, skill, and vigour. But he was to exhibit also in his dealings an independence and plainness of speech and uncompromising sense of the "rights of the people," which must have been as new as it was distasteful to the King. What a change from the civil, obsequious tone of the Sidmouths and Eldons, the resigned submission of "Lords Grey and Grenville," of Liverpool, and even Pitt! Lord Grey, in this contest, greatly suggests the versatility of a modern statesman,

whose intrepidity of speech is justified, as was Lord Grey's, by the sense that he had that "the people believed in him and that he was speaking for the people."

The communications with Lord Grey and the Cabinet began auspiciously enough on November 26, 1830, with this wholesome declaration: "The King acknowledges the receipt of Lord Grey's letter, and will be glad to receive him at three this day, or any other hour that may suit him. His Majesty indeed wishes it to be clearly understood by Lord Grey and the other members of his Government, that he would never suffer any engagement or his convenience to interfere with the attention which His Majesty considers to be due to public business."

But the first note of distrust—which indeed furnishes the key to the King's real sentiments—was sounded on the occasion of "some hints thrown out" by Lord Holland when resigning the Seals of the Duchy, to the effect that he would favour the interference of a Committee of the House of Commons in investigating, or, perhaps, abolishing the rights of the Crown. This occasioned His Majesty "considerable alarm and uneasiness" as threatening his rights.

Lord Grey, however, succeeded in soothing His Majesty, and was enabled to satisfy the King's mind on this point, by assuring him that nothing of the kind was intended or should be allowed.

"Earl Grey cannot be surprised that the King should view with jealousy any idea of Parliamentary interference with the only remaining pittance of an independent possession which has been enjoyed by his ancestors during many centuries, as their *private and independent estate*, and has now, as such, lawfully devolved upon him in right of succession."

A question then arose as to paying for the "Queen's outfit," which had been found to exceed a sum of £25,000, of which £20,000 was incurred for the Stable Department—a heavy charge on her resources, if not defrayed by the nation. On looking back for precedents, no trace could be found of any sum provided from the public purse; but all had been supplied, even her trousseau awaiting her arrival in England. Her jewels had cost £50,000. Lord Grey owned that it was hard; but there was such a jealousy abroad, that it was difficult to charge it to the public. But he hoped to contrive it somehow, especially as it was found that the Duke of Wellington had given an engagement on the point.\*

By the middle of January, 1831, when Lord Grey had been only a few weeks "one of His Majesty's confidential servants"—the hackneyed phrase which the King and his ministers delighted in repeating—His Majesty expressed himself greatly satisfied with Lord Grey's "*treatment of him.*" After giving much praise, he, however, thought it necessary to express his uneasiness at certain symptoms that he had noted, and at the same time gave him this warning—the first of many such.

He said he was satisfied that Lord Grey would resist all attempts "to sap the established rights of the Crown," the fate of others being a warning as to what might be looked for "from what are called Radical

\* The jewels which the Queen had willed away it was now found were the property of the State as purchased by public money, and, therefore, reverted to the nation. The same principle was applied to the enormous quantity of gold and silver plate ordered by the late King when near his death, and which were charged on the public. These were very properly made over to the State.

remedies." Sir H. Taylor (the secretary) wrote also, as his custom was, as a sort of "candid friend" or umpire :

"The King's general health is good, and his spirits are even. He appears to me to enter into the general situation of affairs at home and abroad with increasing interest, but without agitation and alarm, and nothing can be more firm than his language. I do not conceal, however, from your lordship, that he looks forward with more anxiety to the proceedings in Parliament than to any other circumstance ; and that the evils and the mischief which may be met by the salutary exercise of the authority of a vigorous Government strike him as unimportant when compared with the possible admission of projects which may have the effect of permanently lessening the authority and resources of that Government, the maintenance of which His Majesty considers indispensable to the security of the country, and to its preservation from revolution. I venture to state this confidentially to your lordship, and I am convinced that you will not mistake my motive."

And here we find the private secretary carrying on that curious double *rôle* which has no doubt often suggested grave doubts as to the propriety of this office, and the awkward and ambiguous situation it creates for the minister and the King himself. During the late reign, Sir William Knighton had filled this office, and his personal feelings being on the side of the Duke of Wellington, his aid was often invaluable in humouring His Majesty, soothing him, and getting him to view proposals which he detested in a favourable light, or at least bringing him to tolerate them. This was found very useful, and certainly smoothed the task of the Government ; and in the Duke's correspondence will be found abundant letters of a private sort actually

accompanying the more official ones, and qualifying them, as who should say, "You must not mind what the King says," etc.

But a more serious difficulty would arise where, as in the present case, the secretary seemed to have been the adviser of the King, and wrote, not only letters of his own, but composed those of the King, who was rude of speech, and not at all accustomed to discuss nice and critical questions. King George IV. had a long and valuable training in official matters, his letters he wrote or dictated himself, and they unmistakably reflected his thoughts and opinions. Now, on reading the whole of the voluminous correspondence between King William and his minister, the idea is left on the mind that His Majesty was "primed," as it were, and that the arguments and topics with which he opposed his Cabinet must have been suggested and marshalled by this valuable aid. "Very few of the King's letters," Earl Grey tells us, "were in his own handwriting. This arose from a difficulty he had in writing, owing to a rheumatic affection."

In some interesting passages, General Grey and the secretary explain their system. "I write all his letters for him," says Sir H. Taylor, "and they have been very numerous lately, and others I receive in the course of the day average about fifty."\*

That this system was a false one there can be little doubt, and though Lord Grey declares that the Secretary gave invaluable aid in soothing the irritation of the King,

\* "We have heard," says a writer in the "Quarterly," "that the Queen (Her present Majesty) sent for Sir Herbert, to ask his advice on the point whether she should have a secretary. 'Is your Majesty afraid of the work?' She replied she meant to work. 'Then don't have a secretary,' was his answer."

and excited the ministers' admiration by the way "in which he discharged the difficult and delicate duties of his situation," it does seem that occasionally Sir H. Taylor could not help using his assumed *rôle* in aid of the King. But the plan of using a confidential servant as an agent to humour and moderate the feelings of the principal, was at least undignified; and though it might be suited to a Knighton, and necessary in the case of a sick and dying monarch, was hardly so in that of one in good health, and just come to the throne. Something of the same inconvenience has been shown in the instance of the late Prince Consort, whose ceaseless direction of his sovereign, set out in five bulky volumes, was admittedly unconstitutional, and caused grave trouble to ministers. Lord Grey, however, complains of the inordinate number of private letters with which the secretary overwhelmed him, two or three being generally received in one day. These had to be answered; and his complaint gives a good idea of the minor burdens laid on a Premier's shoulders. Those to the King had to be written in a hurry, without any draft or rough copy, generally in great haste, frequently amidst constant interruptions: some of not the least important were written by him from the room where Cabinets had been held, before his colleagues had left him, in order that they might be shown to them before being sent. The Cabinet Minutes were generally written in the same manner, the originals in his own handwriting being usually sent to the King, and copies made for himself by his private secretary.

He owned, however, that he found a certain advantage in these constant communications; and it is a highly curious justification. "Objections were thus removed before they became too deeply rooted in His Majesty's mind; and there were persons having access

to the King who were eager to avail themselves of every opportunity of endeavouring to injure his ministers in his opinion, and there was always a danger that such attempts might succeed, though it will be seen in the correspondence that His Majesty checked them as far as he could." | ✓

All this offers a curious picture of the difficulties a minister had to contend with in addition to the ordinary cares of Government. It might cause a smile now if it were said that the present Prime Minister had to devote a great part of his time in counteracting secret influences and smoothing away difficulties and opposition in his Sovereign's mind.

A report of the debate in the House is, however, regularly written at the close of each day, with an account of the speeches, and signed, not by the Prime Minister, but by a person deputed for the purpose; while the Prime Minister writes a short commentary each day, addressed to the Sovereign.

The political history of the Reform Bill has been often fully and well told, notably by Mr. Molesworth. I shall only deal with it in the view of showing what were the relations of the King and Court to the Ministry during the struggle, and will be found new and entertaining. It will be seen how the King was at the time not at all well; indeed, Mr. Greville heard from his surgeon Keate that he was not likely to live.\*

\* "He will be a great loss," he adds, "in these times; he knows his business, lets his ministers do as they please, but he expects to be informed of everything. He lives a strange life at Brighton, with tagrag and bobtail about him, and always open house. The Queen is a prude, and will not let the ladies come *décolletées* to her parties. George IV., who liked ample expenses of that sort, would not let them be covered."

## CHAPTER XXV.

In the troubled and disturbed course of the Reform Bill but little account has been taken of certain secret and undisguised difficulties, worked during its progress with extraordinary pertinacity, and which repeatedly went nigh to shipwrecking the measure. These were wholly apart from what might be termed the official obstacles—the opposition in Parliament and the King's personal objections to the spirit of the measure. This chapter has never been opened; and it really explains the extraordinary dramatic incidents, the sudden changes of ministry and the abruptly-announced hostility of His Majesty, which, at various periods, thwarted the progress of the Bill. These influences were of what is called the obstructive kind, and, in proportion to which forces the Bill drifted backwards and forwards in a most capricious way. They operated in various shapes. And the wonder really is that the worthy old monarch, thus severely pressed, should have behaved so well, and, on the whole, have shown himself so staunch.

The first of these disturbing influences was the unflagging exertions of Tory peers, such as Lord Londonderry, Lord Camden, the Duke of Buckingham, and, above all, of the Duke of Wellington, who was

appealed to on every serious crisis; but who prudently did not wish to be thought active. These persons worked on the King by means of "audiences," letters, interviews with the King's sons, or, with Sir Herbert Taylor. It may be conceived how difficult must have been the King's position under this pressure, as they were presumed to have outside political knowledge.

(2) Next came the more dangerous influence of the Court *camarilla*, composed of the Queen and her officers, together with the aid of his own sons, and, notably, Lord Munster. No one could have an idea of the persistent and ignorant pressure that was exercised by this *coterie* whenever it was found that His Majesty was hesitating; and it will be seen that all his painful and humiliating mistakes, together with much "eating of humble pie," can be traced to this source.\*

Now, on reading Lord Grey's many personal remonstrances with the King on the subject of this *entourage*, the first reflection is that there was something petty in a Prime Minister condescending to be affected by such matters; but it will be seen that he was more than justified in his peremptory complaints and requests. Almost at once this baleful influence began to make itself felt; and Lord Grey had found ground for complaint, which seems of an undignified sort, as it was based on anonymous letters.

"It would not have obtained from me more attention," he writes to Taylor, "than other anonymous letters, had I not heard of a conversation, exactly corresponding with it, which had been held at the Speaker's, in a party at which Mr. Croker and Mr. Theodore

\* We owe much of these revelations to the latest volume of the Duke of Wellington's "Correspondence and Memoranda," which furnishes the most private of private papers.

Hook were present. It had also been reported to me, that several times there had appeared in *John Bull*—a paper which I never see—details respecting the arrangements that were going on, which could not have been obtained except from persons who had accurate information respecting them. With this paper Mr. Hook is said to be connected ; Mr. Croker is also said to write in it."

The answer of the secretary is given here, as it also furnishes a sketch of the King's behaviour to those about him. He vindicates the persons accused. Sir Andrew Barnard, he pleaded, never touched on politics, but only on "the Queen's Band," which was his hobby.

"I have no doubt he may be in the habit of meeting Mr. Croker and Mr. Theodore Hook, but I should very much doubt his mentioning what passes here unless it be connected with his *pet band*. I may add that I generally frank his letters when here, and should therefore be aware of any active correspondence with Mr. Hook."

He then gives this sketch of the Court : " But after all, there never was any Court from which and of which so little could be told, which every servant in the house, from the highest to the lowest, might not tell. Their Majesties are accessible at all hours ; the apartments are open to everyone ; there is no seclusion, no mystery, nothing to conceal. The King sees numbers of persons in the course of the day, and converses freely with them upon subjects on which they may give him information ; but I am confident that, although he may listen to them, he never converses upon any matter which may be the subject of communication with his Government, or respecting ministerial or official arrangements in contemplation. Politics are never the subject of conversation at dinner, or at the evening parties ; indeed, His

Majesty professes not to allow it, and he never touches on the subject with the Queen, who indeed does not seem at all disposed to break through a rule so essential in such a society."

On January 14th, Sir H. Taylor wrote the minister some solemn reflections on the approaching "perilous" question of Parliamentary Reform. "His Majesty is not surprised that your lordship should approach it with dread; that you should feel all its difficulties: nor is His Majesty blind or indifferent to public feeling, or to public expectation; and he is yet more satisfied that no one can be more strongly opposed in sentiment, in principle, in judgment, and firm solicitude for the preservation of the constitutional monarchy of this country, and for its welfare and security, *to the wild and mischievous projects of the Radicals*. His Majesty rests his confidence in your lordship. He looks to you for the exertion of those high qualities which have secured to you that confidence in rescuing him from the difficulties in which His Majesty may be placed by the agitation of this perilous question; and His Majesty authorises me to assure you that you will find him disposed to give a reasonable and dispassionate consideration to what you may have to propose, and anxious not to embarrass you by objections."

Lord Grey replied after a pattern that was to become almost a common form, reassuring His Majesty against all dangers. "I am sensible, moreover, of all the disadvantage of entering upon the discussion of such a question, in a moment of so much difficulty and danger. It has often been my wish to find the means of postponing it. But the result of all my consideration has been, that an attempt to do so would be fatal to the character of the Government, and would

lead to its dissolution under circumstances still more disastrous than those which would follow such a result, if His Majesty were unfortunately compelled, by a sense of duty, to withhold his assent from the measure which may be submitted to him by his Ministers."

There was something like a warning in these serious words.

In view of the difficulties awaiting him, Lord Grey almost shrank from the task before him. He knew that the King, while engaged to give him formal support as a minister, would be jealous in strictly enforcing any conditions, and would give him no more aid than he was officially bound to do.

Towards the latter end of January, 1831, arrangements began to be made for settling the terms of the great measure. Up to the eve of the introduction of the Bill, little was known of its provisions. Sir D. Le Marchant, the most interesting portion of whose memoir of Lord Althorp are his own reminiscences, was assured by the Chancellor that so earnest were ministers in keeping their plans secret, that the copies of the Bill were made by Lord Durham's eldest daughter, a young lady hardly out of the school-room. He adds, however, that this could not be strictly true, as to make copies of the Bill would have been a very heavy task for a young lady to perform. "I think that the author referred to the Report of the Committee of the Cabinet," he says, "who prepared the scheme of the Bill; during the preparation of which (as I am informed by members of Lord Grey's family) Lord Durham was much assisted in the necessary copying by his wife and eldest daughter. It was not till the last week in February that the Bill was referred to Mr. Wm. Adam, an eminent Parliamentary lawyer, and Mr. Stephenson, a Chancery

barrister, intimately connected with Lord Durham, for correction. By this time the excitement in the country had greatly increased, as appeared in the extension of the Political Unions and the violence of their proceedings ; but among the higher classes this feeling showed itself so faintly that the Ministers were suspected of doubting its existence, and fears were entertained that their Bill would not be strong enough to satisfy the country. Even on the very day that it was to be brought forward, these apprehensions prevailed at Brooks's, where the general despondency was alarmingly ominous of an approaching failure."

The abuses of the old electoral system have been often dwelt on, but few, perhaps, know the monstrous character of "Old Sarum," so frequently quoted. It consisted of nine portions of ground amounting in all to 23 acres 2 roods. The borough was 1,600 feet in diameter, and the elections took place in what was called "Election Acre," at the foot of a hill where a tent was pitched beneath the branches of an ancient elm tree. It returned two members to Parliament for years after its last house had disappeared.

"Great Snoring" was the odd name of another of the corrupt places, of which Lord Eldon used to tell this pleasant anecdote :

"The Duke of Norfolk, towards the latter end of his life, was extremely apt to fall asleep. This happened very often in the House of Lords, and its proceedings were in some measure interrupted by the noise which his Grace's snoring made. Upon one day, whilst he was sound asleep, and very sonorous, the members of the House of Commons came up with a Bill, and I announced to the House of Lords, as Speaker, that the message from the Commons was, that the Commons had

passed a Bill relative to Great Snoring, to which they desired their lordships' concurrence. I spoke very loud when I mentioned Great Snoring, which, with a laugh throughout the House, awaked the Duke."

Speaking of Sunderland, Lord Durham once described the state of things there. "All electoral proceedings were held at the gate of the Bishop's Palace, the reverend prelate himself attending; instructions were given to the people how they were to vote, and they held up their hands according to orders."

On Sunday, January 31, Earl Grey repaired to Brighton, and in the Pavilion, and on this momentous occasion, he opened to the King all the details of the **GREAT REFORM BILL**.

In a letter to his son-in-law, Lord Durham, Lord Grey thus describes what passed in his interview with the King:

"Within ten minutes after my arrival here I was introduced to the King, and he immediately entered into the consideration of our plan of Reform. He attended very minutely to every part of it, put questions wherever doubt occurred, and at the conclusion understood it perfectly. The result is most satisfactory. He approves entirely of the general view and effect of the measure, reserving to himself only the right of making such observations on the details as further consideration may suggest. He was particularly pleased with your report, and entirely concurred in the statement so clearly and powerfully made in it, of the necessity of doing something, and that that something should be effectual and final."

Grey told Lord Brougham "that the King said he should consider the subject of Reform more fully, and give the Cabinet his opinion in writing." This he did

very minutely, prefacing it by an observation that it would be more satisfactory for us to learn on what points he had doubts, and on what points objections, because we should thus be satisfied that he had fully considered the subject.

Many attempts were made to have it believed that he had not given his concurrence; and these were aided by the bad habit which he had of conversing on all subjects with the peers to whom he gave audience, and some of whom were in opposition to the Government. I had to explain this to him, and to show him that, as no responsible minister was present, he ought, as the rule was, only to hear and not to speak.\*

Generally speaking, it must be said, he was an excellent man of business—unlike his brother, who would ask no questions for fear of showing his ignorance—or his father, who ran on with too many, and would not wait for answers. He asked as many as were required to let him fully understand whatever was brought before him, and gave his own views with perfect candour and fairness; nor was he the least impatient of contra-

\* In the Duke of Wellington's "Correspondence and Memoranda" (vol. vii. p. 456), Lord Brougham gives a fuller account of the King's reception of the Bill. "I myself," he says, "had much correspondence with him for weeks on the general subject, and removed many difficulties. Lord Grey went through every detail of the plan for three hours with His Majesty. He argued it all most accurately and most favourably with Lord Lansdowne. He then said he should write about it fully. In three or four days he wrote a long and elaborate and able letter of nine or ten sides of large paper. He gives his consent plainly, unequivocally, and without any reserve." Next day the King gave his views on the matter in a rather lengthy essay, at the close categorically giving his approval to the various points of the measure. He, however, found it necessary, like his late brother, to give the exposition of his "feelings," and what led to his assent, motives for his previous behaviour, etc.—a rambling commentary, to which he was always partial, and which, as it were, eased his mind.

diction, but, on the contrary, rather courted it, in order that he might come to a full understanding with his ministers. One circumstance of a trifling nature was yet very characteristic of his honesty : he generally sat opposite to the light, so that you might see the expression of his countenance, he never having anything to conceal or any part to play. The King made this reply :

“ Although the King had felt willing to admit the necessity of engaging in this question, His Majesty would deceive Earl Grey and his other confidential servants if he were to disguise from them that his anxiety was not free from uneasiness, or that the apprehension of innovations fraught with danger, and proposed to be introduced at a period which other circumstances rendered so critical, did not greatly outweigh his expectations of advantage to the State and the country, from measures of which he had yet to learn the nature and the extent. These having, indeed, been produced, or at least hastened into discussion, more or less, by popular clamour, might prove of such a character as to call upon the King for an opposition to them of which the possible results would have been decidedly at variance with his general inclinations, and with his sense of the necessity of stability, and of cordial union in the councils of the nation.

“ Earl Grey cannot possibly be surprised that such should have been His Majesty’s feeling, nor consider it as betraying any want of that confidence which induced him to call upon him for his able and valuable services, and to entrust him with the formation of the Administration at a period of extreme national and general importance. That confidence has continued unimpaired, and it has been amply justified.

“ His Majesty had, little more than four months after

his accession to the throne, been under the necessity of changing his Government—a Government to which he had given his strenuous and unqualified support—in consequence of the influence of that very House of Commons, of which, as the *popular* branch of the Legislature, it was to be understood that the power and influence should be further increased. He could not be ignorant, and was not ignorant, that some of those who had, in consequence of that change in the Government, been called to his councils were, more or less, committed in pledges on popular questions; and it was, therefore, natural that he should dread, independently of other sources of objection, the introduction into the House of Commons of such measures of Reform as would be likely to be rejected in the House of Lords, whence must arise a quarrel between these two branches of the Legislature.

"The King does not deny that he hails that rejection (of the Ballot) as removing an insuperable bar from his assent to the proposed measure; and he is induced thus pointedly to notice the proposal of introducing *Election by Ballot*, in order to declare that nothing should ever induce him to yield to it, or to sanction a practice which would, in his opinion, be a protection to concealment, would abolish the influence of fear and shame, and would be inconsistent with the manly spirit and the free avowal of opinion which distinguish the people of England. His Majesty need scarcely add that his opposition to the introduction of another, yet more objectionable, proposal—the adoption of *Universal Suffrage*, one of the wild projects which have sprung from revolutionary speculation—would have been still more decided.

"Great stress is laid upon the general opinion of the people, as being in favour of an extensive Reform; but His Majesty very much doubts whether there be suffi-

cient ground for this conclusion. He cannot consider public meetings as a just criterion of the sentiments of the people. The objects of those meetings have, in general, been the promotion of discontent and the disturbance of the public peace.

"The King conceives that the most strenuous advocates for Reform, those whose object it may be to introduce a preponderance of *popular* influence, will not be disposed to deny that the influence of the House of Commons has increased more than that of the Crown, or of the House of Peers; and the question is, Whether greater danger be not to be apprehended from its encroachments than from any other evil which may be the subject of speculation; and whether it is not from this source that the mixed form of government of this country has to dread annihilation?"

Such was this curious paper, which however is full of character, not without sagacity, and certainly deserving the praise of Lord Brougham as an "able" one.

Yet it must be confessed, after an important review of the intricate controversies that were to follow, that the attitude of the King little differed from that of his late brother towards emancipation—whose course he followed, even to the calling in another ministry, and having to take back those he dismissed. He was, indeed, more honest in his support, but he was determined to seize on the first opening to "trip up" his ministers, and to allow them no more than the strictest measure of their bond.

Thus Mr. Greville learned that "the King said to Cecil Forrester yesterday, who went to resign his office of Groom of the Bedchamber, 'Why do you resign?' He said he could not support Government or vote for

Reform. ‘Well, but you don’t know what it is, and you might have waited till it came on, for it probably will not be carried.’”

“As to the Government,” the same authority adds, “neither the late nor any other Government ever cut so poor a figure as this does. Palmerston does nothing, Grant does worse, Graham does no good, Althorp a great deal of harm; Stanley alone has distinguished himself, and what he has had to do he has done very well. It is not, however, only in the House of Commons that the Government are in such discredit.”

This feebleness was shown on the question of economy, respecting which, when in opposition, they had been clamorous. The immediate test was the Budget, introduced by Lord Althorp, whose Budget and plan for reduction of expenditure turned out to be no better than that of his predecessors.\*

The King’s forebodings as to the “awful” advances democracy was making, were certainly quickened by various unceremonious attempts to question the royal allowances, and go into the matters of the Civil List. A Committee on the Civil List was sitting, and Lord Althorp had laid before the King some of his proposals. Lord Grey took the King’s side very warmly, and declared that “a most painful impression had been made upon His Majesty. I am not surprised at these feelings, acknowledging, as I do without reserve, their justice, and thinking that the reductions proposed are consistent neither with true policy, nor with the grateful sense which ought to be entertained of what is, on

\* There were two extraordinary items in the Budget: one was a tax on passengers going by steamboats, and the other a half per cent on all transfers in the Funds. This last was so absurd, and became so unpopular, it had to be withdrawn.

many accounts, so justly due to His Majesty.\* I feel myself bound, however, not more by duty than by my own feelings and opinions, to give it, on those points which are connected with the comfort and dignity of His Majesty, and with the permanent interests of the Crown, all the resistance in my power, though the result should be the necessity of tendering to His Majesty my resignation of the office which he has so graciously committed to my care, and my humble services which he has received with so much favour and indulgence."

How much the King was moved by these attempts, and how he connected them with the *coming* march of the approaching Reform, will be seen from what he wrote to Lord Grey : "A doubt had occurred to him, whether the Committees of the House of Commons upon the Civil List and Salaries are justified, by the principles and the spirit of the Constitution, in their usurpation of functions which appear to His Majesty *constitutionally* to belong to the Government of the State alone. His Majesty is confident, it will be found, that the history of this country has never before exhibited an instance wherein a Committee of the House of Commons has presumed to dictate to the sovereign *how* he is to conduct his Civil List in all its minute details, and the amount of the salaries which he is to grant to each and every one of his own personal servants; and it appears to the King very desirable that the opinion of the Crown Lawyers and the Lord

\* He was certainly justified in his alarm by the rough treatment he occasionally received. "February 20, 1831.—The King went to the play the night before last; was well received in the house, but hooted and pelted coming home, and a stone shivered a window of his coach and fell into Prince George of Cumberland's lap. The King was excessively annoyed."

Chancellor should be taken privately, whether the House of Commons is invested by the laws and the constitution of the country with the powers of doing that which they (their Committees) are now doing."

V He thus contrived to point a moral and connect every evil with his *bête noire*. The garrulous King, however, was not satisfied with this disclaimer, but seized the opportunity of issuing another declaration of his sentiments and forebodings, strictly in connection with the Reform Bill.

It is quite plain that the ministers were most eager to keep the King in good humour, knowing what difficulty they would have to bring him to consent to Reform measures; and, indeed, it would seem that their excessive deference and even obsequiousness is explained by the fact that they felt themselves still under the influence of the old Court system, when the sovereign could make and unmake a ministry. The introduction of the Reform Bill was a surprise for them, in the enormous amount of enthusiasm and public support it was expected to receive.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

THIS question of financial Reform brought forward the question of the grant to Prince Leopold, in a very inconvenient way. On the candidature of the Prince for the throne of Belgium, it will be interesting to know what the King's views on the subject were, particularly as his late brother had taken a hostile tone to the Prince. When the revolution broke out, he set out his opinions bluntly in a paper furnished by Stockmar. "The endeavours to render its effects less disastrous to the House of Orange were defeated by the obstinacy of the King of the Netherlands, and by his jealousy of the Prince of Orange, his son, in whose favour there was every prospect of a successful reaction; nor was it until every hope of a more desirable arrangement had been destroyed, that His Majesty's Government countenanced the views of Prince Leopold to the sovereignty of Belgium, one of its objects in doing so being to counteract the designs of the King of the French, who sought to place the crown of Belgium upon the head of one of his own sons, and thereby to pave the way for its annexation to France.

"To conquer these, various expedients were adopted,

and without the concurrence of the Northern Powers. Those to which they did not subscribe were the blockade of the Dutch ports and the attack upon Antwerp. His Majesty admits that he readily sanctioned the first of these expedients. But His Majesty from first to last objected to the attack upon Antwerp by a large French army, whose continued occupation of Belgium he apprehended, and the presence and the operation of which might have produced those collisions on the Continent which His Majesty was so desirous to avert."

The sagacious King of the Belgians, who had at first received much praise for his surrender of his annuity to the English nation, was now assailed by Radical speakers and writers, when there was a long delay in carrying out the arrangement. But it was found that there was a large debt of £83,000 to be cleared off. It is extraordinary that so wise a man should have shown himself sensitive to the clamours of a few.

"One of the things which the English best understand," says King Leopold himself, in a letter of March 14, 1840 "is the art of calumniating. For inasmuch as a 'character' is in England considered as something positive and tangible, every effort is made to destroy it; for instance, as there was not much to be said against me, my avarice was the theme selected to damage me. Mistakes made by my First Comptroller of the Household, Baron Hardenbroek, and a few imprudences, such as the sale of fruit from my farms, were worked up into charges against me with a persistency which, little by little, did me the greatest injury."

Reports were repeatedly spread, to the effect that he had taken large sums of money from England to Belgium; and as for some time no repayments were made to the Exchequer, the opinion here and there gained ground that the letter of the Prince to Lord Grey, promising

the appointment of trustees had been a mere blind, a mere comedy.

Mr. Gronow was at the time engaged at Brussels, in secret inquiries respecting a sum of £35,000 which it was said had been sent to the King from London to Belgium ; "he especially desired to find out whether this sum had been expended in Brussels, or had been sent on to Germany for the purchase of a property there. He hoped to be able to use the results of his inquiries, instituted at various bankers and financiers, for the purpose of a telling parliamentary speech against King Leopold."

Sir S. Whalley, a former "mad doctor," actually brought forward a motion that a committee should inquire into the matter, while Cobbett and others declared the pension should be revoked. As Lord Palmerston wrote to Stockmar, in his liveliest strain : "The case seems to me as clear as day, and without meaning to question the omnipotence of Parliament, which it is well known can do anything but turn men into women and women into men, I must and shall assert that the House of Commons have no right to inquire into the details of those debts and engagements of the King of the Belgians."

This renunciation was a handsome act on the part of King Leopold ; but it must be confessed that, almost before he had time to resign the annuity, there were angry threatening notices and, in fact, it would have been impossible for him to have retained it.\*

\* The sagacious Prince divined this feeling at once, and when, on the day of trial Lord Londonderry asked was he to be allowed to go on drawing it, he addressed a letter to Lord Grey announcing his intention, and received many compliments. But the German party expected the whole nation to be transported with gratitude, and found fault with Lord Grey for his apologetic tone. "On all sides," says Stockmar, "fine words and just. The Radicals and Tories were probably in their hearts not a little vexed," etc.

It turned out exactly as he had anticipated, and the matter did not even go to a division.

Stockmar had two interviews with the King : one in 1830, the other in 1832. At the first he said : "That as a neutral power we (the Belgians), in fact, did not require any army at all, and that our policy should be just as neutral as ourselves, and neither French nor English. He laid especial stress on the phrase, 'I would myself discourage Leopold from leaning towards the English side if he were inclined to do so.' He said on this subject much that was excellent, and which I could not but highly praise, and this at once restored his good-humour. He repeated several times that his *whole heart* was set on the maintenance of peace, and that for this a great deal depended on the Belgian affair. The appointment of French officers, he observed, was peculiarly disagreeable to him. I replied to this by what I had already said to Palmerston respecting English officers. He said eagerly : 'This is a subject on which I must talk with you on another occasion. Under no circumstances do I wish you to go, without once more coming to me. Tell the King many things from me, and how warmly I desire his happiness and success.' "

And again, when Leopold was firmly established : "I found the King well and very gracious. He pronounced a panegyric on King Leopold, who had done everything which an honourable and wise man could do, and who was entirely in the right path. His Majesty's principal wish was that King Leopold should keep along this path, and should not allow himself to be led astray, either by the King of Holland, or by his own impatience. The really important thing was to maintain peace, and, therefore, he entreated King Leopold not to allow himself to be provoked by anything. If he were attacked (which

His Majesty did not believe would happen), it was a matter of course that he would use every means in his power to meet force by force; but all he prayed and hoped for, was that King Leopold would not be the aggressor.

"As for the King of Holland, *who was completely in the wrong*, he held him to be *mad*, and believed that Holland would find it impossible, for any length of time, to remain upon her present war footing. He was convinced that the Dutch would now begin to calculate that the whole affair was costing too much, and would after all be of no use. He advised prudence all the more, because he was convinced that the Dutch were only looking for a pretext to destroy Antwerp.

"Moreover, he had no later than yesterday received the assurance of all the Powers that they intended to ratify. He, therefore, once more asked for a little patience, and desired at the same time to assure His Majesty of his great friendship and goodwill."

## CHAPTER XXVII.

ALMOST as pressing a question as that of Reform, was a reform of the extravagance and unchecked waste of public money in salaries, pensions, sinecures, and, above all, in outlay connected with the Palace, which had now gone on for two reigns. There were many alive who enjoyed the provision of "a pension on the Irish Establishment," given on the most frivolous grounds, and the corrupt system of "ridership" on a place, that is, of quartering a favourite on an office, so as to enjoy a portion of the emoluments without the work, had not yet been forgotten. A single instance of the lax control over the public monies was shown by the fact that the late King had been enabled to make free with the Admiralty droits, amounting to more than a quarter of a million, for the building and furnishing of his Palace. The vast and extravagant outlay on his building hobbies at Brighton and Carlton House, is too well known to be dwelt on here. But more regular disbursements show the wasteful scale upon which things were managed. In the year preceding his death, the homely household items of bread, meat, beer, fire, lights, etc., cost close on £100,000 a year; "robes," nearly

£7,000 ; horses and stables, £40,000 ; furnishing and repairs, £326,000 ; of which sum, "charities" stood at the comparatively modest total of £17,000 ; and "expenses incurred on account of the visit of the Queen of Wurtemberg," His Majesty's sister, reached £17,000. The alterations of Windsor Castle, it was found, would in all cost £1,084,000 ; while those at Buckingham Palace would reach to £100,000 !

Lord Althorp, as a "financial reformer," as is well known, disappointed the expectations of the more advanced Radicals, who were specially looking forward to an attack on the Court—on the high salaries of officials dependent on the King and Queen, and, above all, on the Pension List. His Majesty, as we have seen, resented the new and free tone in which his expenditure was discussed in the House of Commons, and the Civil List "overhauled." In February, 1831, Lord Althorp had proposed a reform, or rather a re-arrangement of the Civil List, by which all courtly expenses, and those dependent on the Court—the salaries of ambassadors, judges, were, by a sort of fiction, assumed to be paid by the King, who received the money for the purpose, an arrangement that existed since the days of Queen Anne. By the new system, these were detached, and the King was to receive an amount sufficient for his personal expenses.

His Majesty was particularly wroth at a rather petty attempt to cut down the salaries of his Grooms of the Chamber, and other attendants, from £13,000 to £10,000 on this ground—"not only from the jealousy with which he does view, and ought to view, attempts to invade the prerogatives of the Crown, but by apprehensions that the effect of those proceedings will be so to lower the influence of the Crown, as to deprive the Govern-

ment of the support which it may require towards carrying on the administration."

The ministers were very indignant at the attacks on the Court, and both Lord Grey and Lord Althorp declared warmly that they would stand by their sovereign. The Queen had greatly exceeded the expense of her outfit, and the King, sooner than have the incident commented on, announced that he would pay the difference himself.\*

This desire of pleasing the King, whose opinions about the pensions was decided, went so far that we find Lord Grey writing to the Court of "the impression made last night on the House of Commons by Lord Althorp's stout and manly expression of his decided opinion, that a reduction of the existing pensions would be contrary to all policy and justice. I had felt so much annoyed by what had previously passed on this subject, that I had directed Lord Howick to make a declaration to the same effect, as the best way of stating my feelings upon it. I do hope, therefore, that we shall get through this very unpleasant business, but I am not by any means sure."

In return, Sir H. Taylor assures him, "that no one could possibly express herself with greater good sense and good humour than did the Queen, giving your lordship the credit that is so justly due to you for your feeling upon it, and ascribing the disappointment, not to want of regard or consideration for herself, *but to the temper of the times, which, she justly observed, seemed to have found its way into the minds of the representatives of the people.*" This naïve surprise, at the "temper of the times," was presently to be much more intensified.

\* The Queen's "outfit," in the stable department alone, had been £20,000.

Again the grateful Lord Grey gave way to a perfect *épanchement*, declaring that :

"The King's letter to Lord Althorp is irresistible both in feeling and argument. My own feelings on this subject are so strong, that if the House of Commons decides upon reducing the pensions, I should be very much inclined to retire from the Government, if I did not think it might be injurious to His Majesty's interests. To His Majesty I owe a debt of gratitude which I never can repay; and my first wish must be, at whatever personal sacrifice short of that which would render my services useless, to devote myself entirely to his service."

This, as I said before, was the last flickering of the old deference to the sovereign. The tone was very soon to be changed, as the Minister found himself backed by a triumphant House of Commons.\*

Indeed, everything at Court required reform. What could be more scandalous than those *Admiralty Droits* which the sovereign received, in right of his being Lord High Admiral, whose duties were delegated to the Lords of the Admiralty. These monies were supposed to be paid over to the public purse in return for an allowance of the Civil List; but it seems nothing of the kind was done, for we find George III. repeatedly paying the debts of his sons out of "the Admiralty droits," while

\* "With such claims upon us," Lord Grey wrote to Lord Brougham, "it hurts me to the greatest degree to find that Grant cannot be reconciled to the proposal for an outfit for the Queen. His opposition to it goes the length of inferring his resignation, if it should be persevered in. I could not expose the King, and more particularly the Queen, to all the disagreeable consequences of a breach in the Government on such a question; but I must repeat I feel very much *hurt* at the obstacle which stands in the way of a grant, sanctioned by precedent, reasonable in itself, and consistent with, as I think, or rather *conducive* to, a well-understood economy."

George IV. contrived to obtain a share for his palaces, furnishings, etc. The principal sources whence the droits are derived are: all sums arising from wreck and goods of pirates; all ships detained previously to a declaration of war; all coming into port, either from distress of weather, or ignorant of the commencement of hostilities; all taken before the issuing of proclamation; and those which are taken by non-commissioned captors are sold, and the proceeds form droits of the crown and admiralty.

An extraordinary looseness in the administration of these large funds was tolerated. They were paid into the Exchequer, but remained in the hands of certain officials. No account was known or kept at the Treasury, and the money could be drawn at the Bank under the royal sign, which it was frequently.

In twenty-seven years, from 1793 to 1820, a sum of over eight millions and a-half sterling had been received. "Up to 1812, there had been taken from the droits the sum of £760,000 for the payment of the tradesmen's bills of the King's household. The sums granted in aid of the Civil List, from 1793 to 1818, amounted to £1,324,000: The sums paid during the same period, to different branches of the royal family, amounted to £266,331 17s. 3d. £58,000 was granted to defray the expenses of additional buildings and furniture at Brighton. £14,579 was taken for additional expenses in the household, occasioned by the visits of foreign princes, together with the expenses of the *royal visits* to Ireland, Scotland, and Hanover, amounting to £70,000. From the same inexhaustible fund is the royal dole of £5000 to the *poor of Spitalfields*."

Even at the present moment we pay in hereditary pen-

sions about £16,000. £5000 a year to the Nelson family, £4000 a year to the Marlboroughs; and for such splendid services who shall say that such a reward is excessive? Is it not, indeed, far less than what is allotted to the tiny performances of generals of our own time? The heirs of William Penn receive £4000, those of the Duke of Schomberg £984, and the heirs of Captain Garth £12,000. Many of this description of pension have been redeemed by large cash payments. "The pensions," says Mr. Labouchere, "granted by Charles II. to the Duke of Richmond were redeemed early in the present century by a payment of nearly half a million, and those of the Duke of Grafton have been bought up at various times for about £330,000, except one of £900 a year, compensation for an office which was abolished in the reign of Charles II. ! The Duke of St. Albans receives £1200 a year as hereditary Grand Falconer, but this is paid by the sovereign. Earl Cowper's predecessor in the title received £113,000 as compensation for hereditary pension received by him as heir to the Earl of Bath and to the Lord d'Auverquerque; and less than seven years ago the Duke of Leeds was given £29,000 as commutation for his pension of £1080, as one of the heirs to the Duke of Schomberg. The Earls of Kinnoul receive £676 per annum, but they sold this pension many years ago; however, it will go on being paid till the title becomes extinct."

A sensible reform was now instituted, by which the charges for state purposes were separated from the strictly private ones of the King.<sup>t</sup> The nett

\* At this moment a right honourable gentleman receives a pension for acting as "Keeper of the Tennis Court!"

<sup>t</sup> The Fifth and last class is that of pensions, which is limited to £75,000. The mode in which the reduction has been effected under

saving by this new arrangement was calculated at about £95,000. But the important gain was in the Pension List, of which a sum of £95,000 annually was restored to the control of the public. This Pension List was certainly a crying abuse, as will be seen from the specimen laid before Parliament. The Pension List at this time, statements of which had gradually accumulated, offered an extraordinary phenomenon, to be matched only by the condition of such things in France on the eve of the Revolution—where nearly every place in the State was purchasable, as was also the reversion. Even so late as 1829, when there was an attempted shuffle of high legal posts, with a view “to bring in” Scarlett and others, some little facts hinted at by Lord Ellenborough, a Cabinet Minister, shows the monstrous extent to which the public purse was drawn upon for political and party purposes.\*

this head, was by consolidating the three pension lists of England, Ireland, and Scotland in one alphabetical list, and by providing that pensions to the amount of £75,000 on the first part of the alphabetical list should be charged on the Civil List, and the remainder, to the amount of £95,000, be charged on the Consolidated Fund. By this arrangement the public receive the benefit of the pensions which fall in from that part of them which are charged on the Consolidated Fund, while the King has the advantage of the vacancies which occur in those payable from the Civil List.

	£      s.    d.
First Class.      For their Majesties' Privy Purse . .	110,000      0    0
Second Class.     Salaries of His Majesty's Household .	130,300      0    0
Third Class.      Expenses of His Majesty's Household	171,500      0    0
Fourth Class.     Special and Secret Service . . . . .	23,200      0    0
Fifth Class.      Pensions. . . . . . . . . . . . . .	<u>75,000      0    0</u>
	£510,000      0    0

\* “The legal arrangements cannot proceed, because Best communicated with the Duke of Cumberland and refused a peerage as the condition of resignation. Alexander would go if he could have

Another much-coveted office was that of a "six-clerk," in Chancery; a few survivors, pensioned off, were to be seen some thirty or forty years ago. There were six of these officers enjoying incomes of £1200 a year. They had so little duty that the custom was to divide the year into six portions of two months each, and the attendance of one of them at a time was enough.

Statesmen were considered indifferent to their families if they did not contrive, before their fall, to obtain some of these useful sinecures. A good illustration was the case of Lord Bathurst, one of the Addington clique.

"Lord Bathurst's family," says the author of "The Black Book," who, in this instance, had the Parliamentary papers before him, "has mostly been in the receipt of £10,000 or £12,000 a year, from fees, pensions, and taxes. He still retains two valuable sinecures, his son William Lennox one, and an office nearly a sinecure, and his son Seymour Thomas another. On the eve of the breaking up of the Wellington Ministry, his lordship made strenuous efforts to obtain *firmer hold*; first he tried to superannuate his second son, who had been a couple of years in the Victualling Office, as a retired commissioner; failing in that, he next, with the most indecent precipitancy, and almost by absolute force, thrust him into the office of Mr. Buller, as clerk of the Privy Council."

This is rather coarsely put; but the list of pensions is startling. We find—Earl Bathurst, teller of His Majesty's Exchequer, £2700; Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, £1105: Charlotte Bathurst, pension on Civil List, 1823, £600; pension on Civil List, 1825, £200; his peerage and a pension. Leach will not go unless he is to have a peerage and a pension of £7000 a year—a thing impossible."

pension on Civil List, 1829, £100 : Mary Bathurst, pension on Civil List, 1826, £250 : Hon. Charles Bathurst, pension on Civil List, 1826, £350 ; late Commissioner of Bankrupts, £200 ; Receiver of Duchy Court of Lancaster, £500 : Hon. W. Bathurst, deputy teller, Exchequer, £1000 ; Clerk in Privy Council Office, £2000 : and Hon. S. Bathurst, treasurer to Government, Malta, £1560.

More extraordinary was the case of the Rev. Thomas Thurlow, late patentee for execution of bankrupt laws, "receiving as emoluments from fees on commissions, writs of supersedeas, and proceedings in bankruptcy, for the year ending January 5, 1830, £8502 ; also enjoying Clerkship of hanaper in Chancery, emoluments from June 5, 1829, to January 5, 1830, of £1192."

These judicial sinecures were abolished under the Bankruptcy Court Act, and an equivalent life annuity, payable out of bankrupt effects, granted with reversion, on the death of Mr. Thurlow, to Mr. W. H. I. Scott, son of Lord Eldon.

[It should be said that Lord Eldon made a sort of defence of this abuse ; but the fact remains that he gave his son six places, three of which were reversions.]

The Duchess Dowager of Manchester received "as compensation allowance for loss of the office of Collector of Customs outwards, held by the Duke of Manchester, £2928."

"Here is a curious case—a dowager Duchess, ninety years of age at least—receiving compensation for loss of office as Searcher of Customs ! What services can this lady have rendered ? Her husband was known some fifty years ago as a court lord, and if the marriage was improvident, why must the widow be quartered on the public ?" Such was the comment.

Lord Lichfield, as "Master of the Staghounds," enjoyed £2606 a year.

Even a more questionable practice was the giving a pension to some high official or minister, who had consented to take some inferior place, and who bargained that he was to be thus indemnified. Thus we find Mr. Goulburn, who had served as "Irish Secretary," enjoying his pension of £2000 a year.

The pleasant and "salaried" diarist, Mr. Greville, to whom all writers on this reign are so much indebted, was not indifferently taken care of: C. C. F. Greville, Clerk of the Council, £2000; appearing as Secretary and Clerk of the Enrolments, Jamaica, £3000; as late Naval Officer, Demerara, £500.

"The Duke of Wellington, at the period of his resignation, in lieu of providing out of his own pocket for A. F. Greville, as his private secretary—if he needed provision—threw him on the Court Pension List, to be provided for by the people.

"The next of the name, Charles Greville, married a daughter of the Duke of Portland, who provided for her amply, as above, in the Excise. The Duke also took good care of her son, the above-named C. C. F. Greville."

The King's daughters, the Ladies Fitz-Clarence, were receiving among them £2500 a year.

The Law family were really provided for more handsomely than the Bathursts: Lord Ellenborough, Chief Clerk of Court of King's Bench, having £9625; a brother, H. C. Law, captain in the army, was *custos brevium* in the King's Bench jointly with Lord Kenyon; C. E. Law, a brother, Common Sergeant of the City of London; John Law, a brother, in the army; W. J. Law, a cousin, Commissioner of Insolvent Debtors' Court; G. H. Law, uncle, Bishop of Bath and Wells; J. T. Law,

a cousin, Prebend of Lichfield ; Henry Law, a cousin, Archdeacon of Wells ; Robert V. Law, a cousin, Prebendary of Chester ; E. Law, a cousin, in the Church ; Harkness, Barlow, Crofts, and Dynely, are relations, and hold offices and preferments.

Lord Henley, who was brother-in-law to Sir Robert Peel, was a Master in Chancery, at £4644 a year, an office which he held after succeeding to the Peerage.

One of the Grand Offices was a Tellership of the Exchequer, merely receiving balances. The lucky sinecurist had command of fees and balances ; it was calculated that Lord Camden had received many hundred thousand pounds. During the war, in one year with another, it reached £27,000 Lord Camden resigned his emolument in 1817, and was publicly thanked by Parliament. He retained, however, the regular salary of £2700.

The Duke of Wellington, while well deserving honours, could not complain of the country, as he enjoyed about £16,000 a year in places and pensions. His brother had close on £13,000 in places and pensions.

The Duke of Grafton, besides his "hereditary pension" of £7200, enjoyed the Post Office, and was, moreover, "Sealer" in the King's Bench, the two offices producing over £7000 a year.

Lord Cowper received an hereditary pension out of Excise revenue of £1600. "Here we have a most singular instance of the application of the revenue," says the "Black Book." "The present noble lord holds it as an inheritance, acquired by the marriage of his grandfather with the heiress of a general greatly distinguished in the wars of the Duke of Marlborough ; but whether the pension was granted by King William for the services of the father, or for a loan of money from the son, is not known, no document being extant to estab-

lish it; but this pension has been made part of the family settlements of the noble Earl, who succeeded to it at his brother's death, as he did to his estates; he may dispose of it at his pleasure."

Six of the Sheridan family received a pension of £57 each. Some, like Mr. Marsden, had pensions "during the lives of their daughters." Some noblemen condescended to be "portsearchers and wharfingers."

A Dublin baronet had a pension of £700 a year, which he explained "he inherited," it having been purchased by his father forty-four years before. Barker's pension was likewise sold on its first receipt for a large capital sum.

Some of the reductions made were trivial, others of a substantial kind. The First Lord of the Treasury had £5000 again, as before. The Secretaries of State were reduced from £6000 to £5000; President of the Board was reduced from £5000 to £3500. It was stated that Lord Durham, characteristically, had declined to take any salary as Lord Privy Seal. The Auditors of the Civil List were abolished. The Master of the Mint lost £1000 a year.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

ON March the 2nd the Reform Bill was introduced by Lord John Russell, and astonished everyone by the large and sweeping character of its provisions. So wholesale did these appear, that it was currently believed that had the Opposition at once moved its rejection on the first reading, the Bill would have been summarily thrown out.\*

Lord Brougham, recalling the scene, declares he never could forget the amazement of the House, as the long list of sacrificed privileges was read out. But there arose "wild ironical laughter, mingled with expressions of delight from the ex-Ministers, who seemed to think themselves sure of recovering their places immediately." One member cried to him : "They are mad!" Sir R. Peel was said to have "turned black in the face;" a pardonable political exaggeration.

\* Sydney Smith has long been credited with the excellent jest about the sending of Lord John Russell to take the command of the Channel fleet, and Lord John himself tells us how his mock pearl came to be found. "In conversation with Mr. Abercromby, I said, more in a joke than in earnest, 'that if I were offered the command of the Channel fleet and thought it my duty to accept, I should not refuse it.'" The Rev. Sydney Smith added the other incident—the urgent operation.

Oddly connected with this turn was a new escapade of the Chancellor, of whom the story went that, on going to the levée, he had had his carriage driven through the soldiers, and had actually forced the guard! Charged with this solemnly in the House of Lords, he vindicated himself with the unintentional grotesque gravity that had become habitual: "I can assure your lordships that no one thinks less of the state and pomp of the office which I hold than I do. When suddenly stopped by my horses' reins being seized, I thought there must be some mistake, which was strengthened by the remark of the officer, that it was only the Speaker of the House of Commons who had permission to pass, as I could not imagine that the same privilege should not be extended to the Speaker of the Upper House. The officer, however, having satisfied me that there was no mistake, and that his orders were peremptory, I said, 'Then I must turn back.' But I suppose the footman had not communicated to the coachman the order to turn back. I certainly was never more surprised in my life than when I found that my coachman had taken me through, and I was in St. James's Park before I could pull the check-string."

Yet the King, while accepting his excuses, was unconvinced, and gave it as his opinion, that the Chancellor had ordered his coachman to go on. The Chancellor of the popular Reform Bill to have his reins seized, and to be turned back! It seems very likely that he resisted the insult, and that he forgot his order as he forgot so many things in his life. It was odd that in a few days he should again have driven through some soldiers who were relieving guard in Downing Street.

When the details of the Reform Bill became settled

in the public mind, the majority began to gain strength, and it was felt and everywhere repeated that it *must* pass. The proceedings on the Civil List furnished the King with a text of warning as to dangers, etc., and this sort of forecasting he kept steadily up during the progress of the Bill—an idle and profitless course, as he had given an undertaking to support it; and these expostulations were not of the slightest use.

Sir Herbert Taylor, however, was growing a little uneasy at these symptoms, and addressed a private letter to Lord Grey to reassure him. "You may perhaps have been struck," he wrote, "with His Majesty's persevering jealousy of the proceedings of the Committees of the House of Commons in matters regarding the Crown. It really is quite free from personal object or feeling; and his constant remark to me is, 'How will Lord Grey, how will any other Minister, be able to carry on the business of the country?'"

During the course of the debate on the great Bill, a combination brought about the defeat of ministers on the question of the Timber Duties, on March 18th. This caused the ministry grave misgivings as to the fate of the greater Bill, and whether it might be safe to go on with the present House. Lord Grey wrote, with much anxiety, to the secretary that: "In the state at which we are arrived, one material point to be considered will be, the propriety of advising His Majesty to dissolve Parliament; and it is upon this point particularly that I shall be much obliged to you to inform me, with as little delay as possible, what you think is the state of His Majesty's feelings."

He wrote also to the King, telling him the situation was to be debated at a Cabinet; but made no allusion to the ticklish question of a dissolution. The secretary,

however, thought the best way was to show him the first letter; and the King answered both on March 20th. Unfortunately Lord Grey on the same day wrote again, to announce the result of the Cabinet, which was—to go on without a dissolution; so that the letters crossed. But the result shows the awkwardness of the double and rather underhand system of communication that was going on. After reminding Lord Grey that he had been induced to waive his early objections to bringing forward the measure at this period, and having given his sanction to the introduction of a Bill which had been submitted by Earl Grey to him, in all its details, and with every explanation which he could require, His Majesty had pledged himself to give his Government his utmost and unqualified support upon this occasion.

"The King would, therefore, seriously lament anything that could shake the stability of his present Government, and eventually deprive him of the services of Earl Grey; and he earnestly hopes that his confidential servants will, in their deliberations this day, devise some means to avert a misfortune which His Majesty so anxiously deprecates, without coming to the resolution of submitting for his decision *an alternative to which His Majesty cannot agree, namely, a dissolution of Parliament.* The state of the country is, in His Majesty's firm opinion, a sufficient ground of objection."

Being thus apprised of the dissolution, the King was enabled to take a high tone, and "put down his foot" as being without responsibility, as will be seen from all that followed.

But unfortunately the matter was not to end here. It will be seen presently that one of the chief and most wearisome obstacles with which Lord Grey had to struggle,

was the *camarilla* about the King. He had sufficient difficulty to keep the King straight in his course, but he was often irritated by the successful workings of this faction, who used the King's name for their own ends.

This question really involved a far more serious matter from the attitude of the Queen, who had now become unpopular to a degree that seems extraordinary. It was assumed as a matter of course that, through all the Reform crisis, she had interfered when the King was willing to give way. She it was, the Liberal leaders were convinced, who was the soul of that Court faction against which Lord Grey fought so sturdily. Her interference was vehemently denied, and it has often been stated, even of late years, that she has been much calumniated in this respect. It must be admitted that her influence was exerted to a very serious extent. She seems to have been a most ardent partisan, and to have done her best to counteract the efforts of the Liberal ministers. This, as a picture of Court intrigue, and the revelation of what was going on while Lord Grey was desperately essaying to keep the King loyal to his engagements, is worth considering in this place, and will be found entertaining.

When Lord Grey had been later recalled to the King's councils, the Queen seems to have laboured hard, even then, to avert the passing of the Bill. In a private letter which Lord Brougham, a friend of hers, saw, she wrote: "*I do not despair yet.*" When the discussion about dissolution arose, she again interposed. "We afterwards found from Errol, the Queen's equerry, the cause of this reluctance, and, indeed, this attempt to avoid the dissolution. The Queen, who generally took the Tory view of subjects, had been urgent with the King to refuse at the last moment, and he had come to town

after promising that he would refuse, be the consequences what they might." Thus Lord Brougham.

The mob showed their dislike of her in a marked fashion, when the King and Queen and all the royal family were at the Duke of Wellington's fête at Apsley House. "The King," says Mr. Raikes, "looked infirm and tired. The Queen was evidently out of spirits; she had attended a review in Hyde Park in the morning, when the sovereign mob thought proper to greet her with much incivility and rudeness. Truly enough might the King remark that he feared he had got into bad hands, when he sees that his own wife cannot escape from insult before his face."

At Ascot races, too, there was another painful scene. "As soon as His Majesty presented himself in the stand, a ruffian threw a stone at him, which hit him on the forehead, but, fortunately, did him no serious injury. The scoundrel was taken up and sent to prison." It turned out, however, that the fellow was half-witted.

But the incidents that followed the rather undignified efforts of the ministers to remove the favourite chamberlain, Lord Howe—an event already alluded to, reveal an extraordinary tissue of intrigue. On March 21st, we find Lord Grey complaining bitterly of his behaviour.

"There is no practice, either fair or foul, of giving effect to the opposition we have not to encounter. An account has just been brought to me, that a report is industriously circulated, of a letter having been written to me by the King on Friday night, putting an absolute veto on dissolution. Whether any private information has been obtained of the fact, I know not; but if it is pure invention, as I believe, the inventor has certainly shown some sagacity in divining the truth.

"In all this my only care is for the personal ease

and comfort of the King, and my own course is plain and clear. I must abide the event, whatever it may be. There is no room left for compromise or retreat. It would not do, at the end of a long political life, to forfeit the character which I have obtained through many sacrifices.

"P.S.—I have just learnt that Sir T. Trowbridge told Capt. Elliott, that the fact of the King having written to declare that he would not consent to a dissolution, had been communicated to him by one of the King's household. Lord —— has also been offering large bets that the King has notified his refusal."

He also conveyed his feelings to His Majesty, and tries to pass off his attempt to discover His Majesty's view through the secretary.'

"Downing Street, March 21, 1831.

"EARL GREY begs leave humbly to acknowledge your Majesty's two most gracious letters of yesterday, which he thought it his duty to communicate to the rest of your Majesty's confidential servants, at a Cabinet held last night.

"In what occurred at Brighton, when your Majesty was pleased to notice the allusion made by Sir J. Graham, in the House of Commons, to the possibility of a dissolution of Parliament, though no direct and positive objection was stated, Earl Grey could not fail to perceive your Majesty's repugnance to such a measure; and it was this recollection which made him anxious to learn from Sir H. Taylor what might still be your Majesty's feelings with respect to it, after the debate and division on Friday night in the House of Commons. That event unavoidably compelled Earl Grey to look to the possible necessity of making a

proposition to your Majesty, which he had occasion to fear your Majesty could not receive without pain, and which nothing but the imperative sense of public duty could make him think of after what had passed between your Majesty and him on that subject. It will be their most earnest wish to act in obedience to it to the utmost of their power; but they humbly hope that your Majesty's decision will not be considered by your Majesty as taking from them the privilege, which is essential to the discharge of their duty, of respectfully submitting to your Majesty such considerations as upon a careful review of all the circumstances of the time, may compel them, as faithful servants to your Majesty, to recommend a course which nothing but the most painful necessity could induce them to urge in opposition to your Majesty's known opinions. This necessity Earl Grey anxiously hopes may be avoided.

On the same day he wrote to Taylor on the necessity of preparing the King's mind to yielding on this important point, and it will be seen that the Premier was not to be trifled with.

"I never," he wrote, "experienced greater pain than in the discussion which has taken place, and which I fear may not end here, on the subject of dissolution. You may be assured nothing, as I have stated to His Majesty, but the most painful necessity can induce me to press it further.

"I have ventured to suggest, in a manner which I hope will not be considered as implying any distrust or suspicion, the necessity of observing the most careful secrecy as to His Majesty's opinions on the subject of dissolution."

Sir H. Taylor replied; "I should be wholly un-

worthy of confidence if I were to disguise from you my conviction that the King's objections to a dissolution at this moment, and in the present state of the country, will prove final and conclusive. They are indeed grounded upon apprehensions of a convulsion in this country, and chiefly in Ireland, which have taken such a firm hold on his mind, that I am persuaded no argument will be able to shake them."

With a Parliament so hostile it was natural that the Ministers should complain that they were acting under unfair conditions. And a letter from the rather plain-spoken Lord Durham, written to his father-in-law, put the thing so bluntly and truly that it was sent to Sir Herbert, with a charge, however, that it was not to be shown to the King. No wonder Lord Grey was anxious, for that night there was to be a division on the Reform Bill, and, so evenly balanced were parties it was likely enough to be lost.

On March 22nd the Bill was passed, but only by a majority of one.

A young Member of Parliament, full of brilliancy and promise, thus describes the scene, with an animation that makes one speculate whether his pen might not have been more successful in recording what he saw than in imparting an artificial vitality to a scene of the past. "As the division proceeded, and they were counting the numbers going out, it came to two hundred and ninety-one—two hundred and ninety-two; we were all standing up and stretching forward, telling with the tellers. At three hundred there was a short cry of joy—at three hundred and two another, suppressed however in a moment; for we did not yet know what the hostile force might be. We knew, however, that we could not be severely beaten. The doors were thrown open, and

in they came. Each of them, as he entered, brought some different report of their numbers. It must have been impossible, as you may conceive, in the lobby, crowded as they were, to form any exact estimate. First we heard that they were three hundred and three ; then that number rose to three hundred and ten ; then went down to three hundred and seven. Alexander Barry told me that he had counted, and that they were three hundred and four. We were all breathless with anxiety, when Charles Wood, who stood near the door, jumped up on a bench and cried out : ‘They are only three hundred and one.’ We set up a shout that you might have heard to Charing Cross, waving our hats, stamping against the floor, and clapping our hands. The tellers scarcely got through the crowd, for the House was thronged up to the table, and all the floor was fluctuating with heads like the pit of a theatre. But you might have heard a pin drop as Duncannon read the numbers. Then again the shouts broke out, and many of us shed tears. I could scarcely refrain. And the jaw of Peel fell ; and the face of Twiss was as the face of a damned soul ; and Herries looked like Judas taking his necktie off for the last operation. We shook hands, and clapped each other on the back, and went out laughing, crying, and huzzaing into the lobby. And no sooner were the outer doors opened than another shout answered that within the House. All the passages and the stairs into the waiting-rooms were thronged by people who had waited till four in the morning to know the issue. We passed through a narrow lane between two thick masses of them ; and all the way down they were shouting and waving their hats, till we got into the open air. I called a cabriolet, and the first thing the driver asked was : “ Is

the Bill carried?' 'Yes, by one.' 'Thank God for it, sir.' And away I rode to Gray's Inn."

Mr. Roebuck, referring to the first debate of the Reform Bill, says: "I often heard Lord Brougham relate a circumstance connected with this celebrated motion, which vividly illustrates the ignorance of the administration, even at the eleventh hour, as to the real feelings of the people. The members of the Cabinet, who were not in the House of Commons, dined that day with the Lord Chancellor, whose secretary, Mr. (now Sir) Denis Le Marchant, sat under the gallery of the Commons, and sent half-hour bulletins to the noble lord, describing the progress of the debate. They ran thus: 'Lord John has been up ten minutes; House very full; great interest and anxiety shown.' Another came describing the extraordinary sensation produced by the plan on both sides of the House. At last came one saying: 'Lord John is near the end of his speech—my next will tell you who follows him.' 'Now,' said the noble host and narrator of the story, 'we had often talked over and guessed at the probable course of the Opposition, and I always said, were I in Peel's place, I would not condescend to argue the point, but would, as soon as John Russell sat down, get up and declare that I would not debate so revolutionary, so mad a proposal, and would insist on dividing upon it at once. If he does that, I used to say, we are dead beat; but if he allows himself to be drawn into a discussion, we shall succeed.' When Le Marchant's bulletin at length came, which was to tell us the course adopted by the Opposition, I held the note unopened in my hand, and laughing, said: 'Now this decides our fate, therefore, let us take a glass of wine all round, in order

that we may with proper nerve read the fatal missive.' Having done so, I opened the note, and seeing the first line, which was : 'Peel has been up twenty minutes,' I flourished the note round my head, and shouted : 'Hurrah ! hurrah ! Victory ! victory ! Peel has been speaking twenty minutes ;' and so we took another glass to congratulate ourselves upon our good fortune !' Such is the anecdote, which proves, among other things, how uncertain as guides are such anecdotes for history. The events, doubtless, occurred, much as Lord Brougham is accustomed to relate them ; but Sir Robert Peel did not speak on that night's debate. Sir John Sebright seconded Lord John Russell's motion, and Sir Robert Inglis was the next succeeding speaker, in vehement, nay fierce reply to Lord John."\*

On which Sir D. Le Marchant made this simple comment :

"Lord Brougham was perfectly correct—the error was mine. I had gone out of the House at the end of Lord John's speech, to finish some notes of it, which I was preparing for the Lord Chancellor, and on my return I asked a stranger near the door whether Sir Robert Peel was speaking. He probably misunderstood me, and answered in the affirmative, and I wrote to the Lord Chancellor accordingly."

The King, on receipt of this momentous news, wrote to his minister :

THE KING TO EARL GREY.

"March 23, 1831.

"The King acknowledges the receipt of Earl Grey's letter of this day, respecting the result of last night's

\* Sir Denis Le Marchant, in his "Memoirs of Earl Spencer." He furnishes many anecdotes which also curiously illustrate what has been said in the text.

debate, which he has learned from Viscount Althorp also. His Majesty would have been better pleased if the majority in favour of the second reading of the Reform Bill had been greater, but he sincerely rejoices it has been carried, even by one. He considers it of great importance that time should be gained for consideration; and he hopes and trusts that, when the question is resumed, the effect of that consideration will realise the wishes of His Majesty and his Government."

There is here an ill-concealed pleasure; for such a victory, if it gained "time for consideration," that consideration he did not mean should be favourable to ministers.

It is singular to find the secretary, before letting the King see this document, actually *answering the* arguments it contained, thus betraying the radical fault of the system, and the confusion into which it led both sides.

"[SECRET AND CONFIDENTIAL.]

"March 22, 1831.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"Your lordship's letter, enclosing Lord Durham's, reached me shortly before I left St. James's, and I was unable to read them quietly until I got home; nor would I sit down to reply to them until my family had gone to bed.

"I feel very sensibly your confidence in making this communication; and I own that I regret that you have restricted me from imparting it to the King, as there are many points which I should have wished him to see and consider before the subject shall possibly be brought before him in a more formal shape.

"I may add, and in fact repeat, that I have been in

the habit of submitting to the King, without reserve, whatever reaches me, *provided it shall not appear to me calculated to operate to the injury or prejudice of the person who addresses me*, or to create impressions not intended to be conveyed; and no question has ever arisen in the course of which I have felt more anxious than on this. I have carefully read your lordship's letters and that from Lord Durham, which I return, and I see nothing in them which may not be freely submitted to the King.

"I would close my letter here, if there were not in those letters a few points upon which I may offer remarks without indiscretion, and without committing His Majesty, and departing from the strict line of duty which a *very delicate* situation prescribes to me.

"The King has never, to the best of my knowledge, entertained the opinion, nor I believe expressed such, that his present Government caused the excitement about Reform. He has admitted that it *had* been the occasion of increasing agitation."

In Lord Durham's letter, which was sent, the truth was spoken in the boldest fashion. Some of the passages would scarcely be used by a Birmingham Radical :

"[PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL.]

"March 22, 1831.

"Tuesday Morning, 12 o'clock.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,

"The letters are gone on in circulation. [The letters to and from the King on the question of a dissolution.] It is surprising that throughout all these arguments against dissolution, grounded on the excited state of public feeling, he never for an instant alludes to what will be the effect of a rejection of the Bill, if

unaccompanied by a dissolution. From this omission one would imagine that he fancies the country would quietly acquiesce in the rejection.

"The King has denied to his Ministers their legitimate right to the additional strength which would accrue to them from the dissolution of a Parliament elected under the influence and direction of their predecessors, and most undoubtedly not when the question which renders it necessary is one on which the whole country unanimously supports the measure recommended to Parliament, and refused by it. If, therefore, the King refuses his consent to that constitutional measure, which would, to the conviction of every sane man in the country, ensure the success of the Bill, the country will say that he never was in earnest, or thoroughly determined to carry it. In fact, it would be another mode of refusing the royal assent."

It was singular that at so critical a moment Lord Grey should have let himself be persuaded into urging the grievances of that extraordinary man, Lord Durham, his son-in-law—a politician who owed his influence and advancement not so much to his talents as to a bad temper, which, in opposition to all political canons, he did not attempt to control. Only a week before he had squabbled with a lady (Lady Jersey), accusing her of misrepresenting his wife to the Queen, and declaring he would make Lady Durham demand an audience of Her Majesty to contradict these calumnies. Mr. Greville had from Lady Jersey a full account of the transaction, and denied solemnly that she had said anything to the Queen. At the drawing-room where our present Gracious Majesty made her first appearance at Court, Lady Jersey had a scene with Lord Durham. "She got up and crossed

the room and to him said : ‘Lord Durham, I hear that you have said things about me which are not true, and I desire that you will call upon me to-morrow with a witness to hear my positive denial ; and I beg that you will not repeat any such things about me.’ She was in a fury, and he, I suppose, in a still greater. He muttered that he should never set foot in her house again, which she did not hear, as, after delivering herself of her speech, she flounced back again to her seat.”

More strange is it that Lord Grey should have let himself be driven, or perhaps “bullied,” by his son-in-law, into making complaints to His Majesty of these trivial grievances :

“I am sure you will acquit me of the most distant idea of insinuating anything against the good faith and sincerity of the King. For those most essential qualities no man was ever more distinguished. We all acknowledge this. We all feel grateful for it. We are all actuated by the truest sentiments of duty and attachment ; and there is nothing we would not do to avoid any opposition to His Majesty’s opinions, which that same sense of duty did not dictate, combined with the obligation of maintaining our own character and honour. By these sentiments nobody is more sincerely actuated than Lord Durham. I anxiously hope that neither I nor Lord Durham can suffer in His Majesty’s opinion, or be supposed to entertain a feeling inconsistent with the sincere respect which we feel for his character, and our affectionate attachment to his person, from anything that may have been too incautiously or too freely expressed in a correspondence which was not intended to meet his eye.

“I have been induced to dwell more upon this,

because I have remarked that His Majesty's manner to Lord Durham has not been marked with the same kindness that he has shown to his other servants. This may have been accidental, but I know it has been felt by Lord Durham; and I had once thought of desiring him to address directly to His Majesty, from himself, a statement of his feelings and opinions on the question we have been discussing, which few people could do so ably, and which I hoped might bring about more confidential communications between His Majesty and a most useful and attached servant. What hurt us most was the report so industriously propagated, that the King had put a positive veto on a proposal to dissolve the Parliament. Several Members, representing popular constituencies, who had before declared their intention of voting, changed on this assurance. Among other authorities for it, that of Lord Mansfield is stated. It was said that he had had an audience of the King, at which he had represented the dangers of the present crisis; and that on his return he had publicly said, that, whatever might happen, he could confidently assert that no dissolution would take place. This may be as false as many other reports that have been circulated, but it certainly had its effect."

Lord Grey in reply attempted to support his theories, winding up, however, with abundant compliments and praise of His Majesty.

This rather pettish complaint, it will be seen, was still pointed at the occult influence behind the throne—the faction that was warping the King's mind. It was thus another vice of this secretarian system that His Majesty was shown letters in which complaint could be made, as it were, addressed to him, of his own behaviour.

We were not surprised accordingly at finding him vindicating himself through the same channel. The Durham letter had just been submitted to him.

"I think I may venture to say, and indeed I have the King's authority for saying, that your lordship has mistaken the cause of His Majesty's manner towards Lord Durham, and that the appearance has been purely accidental. He observed, indeed, when I read that part of your letter to him, that Lord Durham appears shy and reserved, and that his manner did not encourage free intercourse. He ordered me to assure your lordship that he would be very glad to see Lord Durham whenever it might suit him, and that he should receive with attention and interest the statement of his feelings and opinions on the question under discussion. With regard to the report propagated, that the King had put a positive veto on a proposal to dissolve, your lordship knows, from a comparison of dates, that it could not come from Windsor; nor had the King's feelings on the subject been mentioned, or even whispered, until he replied to the question put in your letter to me, received on *Sunday last*, and which I submitted to him; nor has it been otherwise broached. Lord Mansfield had been with the King on the preceding Tuesday. He wrote to me from 'The Castle Inn' at Windsor to request an audience of His Majesty, to which he was admitted. I did not see him, but His Majesty told me that he had been with him some time, and had stated fully his view of the general question of Reform, without endeavouring to elicit His Majesty's sentiments, and without learning what they might be. I asked the King on that day, whether any mention had been made of a dissolution, or any allusion to that contingency, and His Majesty assured me that he had not committed himself upon it.

No secret was made of Lord Mansfield's visit; and if His Majesty omitted to notice it to you, the omission must have been accidental."

How worthy this son-in-law was of his amiable father-in-law's advocacy, will be gathered from two scenes which are recorded of a very painful character, both taking place at Cabinet dinners.

"At one of these," Mr. Greville learned "that he made a violent *soutirée* on Lord Grey (it was at Althorp's), said he would be eternally disgraced if he suffered any alterations to be made in this Bill, that he was a betrayer of the cause, and, amongst other things, reproached him with having kept him in town on account of this Bill in the summer, 'and thereby having been the cause of the death of his son.' Richmond said in his life he never witnessed so painful a scene, or one which excited such disgust and indignation in every member of the Cabinet. Lord Grey was ready to burst into tears, said he would much rather work in the coal-mines, than be subject to such attacks, on which the other muttered, 'and you might do worse,' or some such words. After this Durham got up and left the room. Lord Grey very soon retired too, when the other Ministers discussed this extraordinary scene, and considered what steps they ought to take. They thought at first that they should require Durham to make a public apology (*i.e.* before all of them) to Lord Grey for his impertinence, which they deemed due to *them* as he was *their* head, and to *Althorp* as having occurred in his house, but as they thought it was quite certain that Durham would resign the next morning, and that Lord Grey might be pained at another scene, they forbore to extract this. However, Durham did not resign; he absented himself for some days from the Cabinet, at last returned as if

nothing had happened, and there he goes on as usual. Lord Grey succumbs to him, and they say in spite of his behaviour is very much attached to him, though so incessantly worried that his health visibly suffers by his presence."

This, however, showed the power which such disagreeable and intractable men possess, which is based on the awe or terror they inspire. Later he again broke out.

"While Lord Grey was saying something he rudely interrupted him, as his custom is. Lord Grey said, 'But, my dear Lambton, only hear what I was going to say,' when the other jumped up and said, 'Oh, if I am not to be allowed to speak I may as well go away," rang the bell, ordered his carriage, and marched off."

## CHAPTER XXIX.

A MONTH passed by before the Reform Bill came on again for consideration ; but its prospects were now bad indecd.

On April 19 a division on General Gascoigne's motion, in which ministers were beaten, changed the question from being merely speculative. Next day the view of the Cabinet was forwarded to the King. They call it their "painful duty," and "humbly recommended a dissolution." The King, in a long exposition of his motives, agreed to the proposal, on the ground that a change of ministers would be a greater evil. The Cabinet seemed to be overwhelmed, and wrote in almost abject terms their "feelings of gratitude for His Majesty's kindness and admiration for his noble and generous conduct," which it was impossible to describe. The King seized this opportunity to send them a lengthy exposition of his sentiments, accompanied with solemn warnings. He recapitulated the "feelings with which he approached the measure," and which "had been more than once characterised by Earl Grey as perilous."

"As an individual," he went on, "consulting merely his own feelings and prejudices, he would probably have taken and maintained a different position. As a

sovereign, responsible to God and his country for the welfare and happiness of millions, it was his duty to set those feelings and prejudices aside. Still he cannot help considering this perilous measure as an experiment —as a fearful experiment.

"His Majesty has stated, in the concluding part of his letter of the 21st inst., that advantages should be taken of any preponderance which his Ministers may obtain in the House of Commons, by the results of the ensuing general election, to introduce modifications in the Bill."

This idea of "modification" became a favourite topic with him, on which he insisted again and again, meaning, of course, an enfeebling and alteration of the Bill.

"*The times are awful,*" he added in concluding, "and they seem to His Majesty to call upon those who love their country, and are attached to its constitution, to lay aside party feeling and prejudice, and to devote their talents and their energies to the preservation of the blessings which the various ranks and classes of this country have so long enjoyed. It is impossible not to view with alarm the character of the attempts which have for some time past been making to invade property and to destroy the gradations and the links of society, and the success which has attended those attempts in their effects upon the lower orders, not a little aided by the poisonous influence of a licentious and unobstructed press. It is, therefore, the more difficult to know where to find, and how to apply, the remedy. The sanguine advocates for Reform of Parliament, indeed, assure His Majesty that this will prove the great panacea. God grant it may! and His Majesty will bless the day on which he gave his assent to the measure."

But this important measure of the dissolution gave

rise to an amusing and not undramatic episode, of which many accounts have been given.

Sir Denis Le Marchant tells us that the Tories had hopes of success—founded, as might be expected, on the help of the King. “For,” he adds, “it was confidently asserted in my hearing among the Tories in the House that the King had pledged himself to the Duke of Cumberland not to dissolve, and that Sir Charles Wetherell had been authorised by the Duke to say so. The Duke was under the gallery during the debate, and in constant communication with members of his party. The adjournment was carried by a majority of twelve, and, as Lord Althorp afterwards stated, if it did not actually cause, it justified the dissolution.”

In delivering this great *coup* it was felt that not a day should be lost, so as to give enemies no time to organise resistance. Ministers were dining at Lord Durham’s house, in Cleveland Row. Events which were taking place in the House had determined them to propose the dissolution.\*

The present Lord Grey recalls what took place :

“While the debate was in progress, and when it became evident with what object it was protracted, Lord

\* “The chief difficulty,” says Lord Brougham in his “Autobiography,” “was the King’s great reluctance. Indeed he at first refused, and reminded us of the reserve under which he had given his approval of the Bill. After much discussion, both in conversation and by correspondence, in which I of course took part, addressing a very full and anxious letter to him, as well as having an audience, it ended in our determining all to resign unless the request was granted. We had a Cabinet on the subject, and all signed a minute to that effect. Fortunately the King had made up his mind to refuse no longer, before our minute could reach him, and he could refer to something that had passed with me as showing this, which it did when fairly considered, though it had not so appeared to us.”

Althorp, who was to have met my father and several of his colleagues at dinner at Lord Durham's, sent Mr. Wood (Lord Halifax) and myself, who were also to dine there, to tell my father from him what was going on, that the money votes could not be obtained, and that in his opinion the dissolution ought to take place at once. In consequence of this message, and after some communication with those Members of the Cabinet who were present, my father wrote to the King from Cleveland Row, proposing that the intended dissolution should take place immediately. The King approved, saying, as will be observed in his answer, that after seeing my father at half-past eleven he would hold a Council at twelve the next day. The object of this meeting of the Council was of course to make the formal orders required for the dissolution. Mr. William Bathurst (now Lord Bathurst) the then Clerk of the Council, informs me in a letter that I have received from him, that, on the morning of the 22nd, he received orders to issue summonses immediately for a Council to be held for the dissolution of Parliament, and that he was directed to bring with him the usual papers which are required when Parliament is to be prorogued or dissolved by commission. In the meantime, and almost at the last moment, it was found necessary to make a further change in the mode of proceeding. By the law and usage of Parliament, the House of Lords is entitled to dispose of any business actually in progress before it admits the Commissioners of the Crown; and it was ascertained that the Opposition Peers intended to avail themselves of this rule, so as to carry Lord Wharncliffe's proposed Address.

"It is quite true that their doing so would no more have deprived the Crown of its constitutional power to dissolve Parliament, than the addresses of the same

character which were carried in the House of Commons, after the Coalition Ministry had been dismissed, and succeeded by that of Mr. Pitt in 1784. It was, however, thought desirable to prevent the House of Lords from coming to such a vote, lest it should have a bad effect on public opinion.

"This could only be done by the King's going down to prorogue Parliament in person, the appearance of the King in the House of Lords putting a stop to all proceedings. This course was accordingly proposed to the King by my father, at the audience which the King had previously fixed for half-past eleven on the morning of the 22nd, and at which Lord Brougham was present.

"The King at once agreed to what was proposed to him—indeed, my father told me at the time, and he more than once afterwards mentioned the same fact in the presence of myself and others, that notwithstanding his strong objection to a dissolution in the first instance, the King, when the measure had been decided upon, resented the attempt to impede it by an Address of the House of Lords, as an invasion of his prerogative."

In connection with this attitude of the King's, there are other curious and contradictory incidents reported. We have seen how precarious was the influence of ministers, and what a nice matter it was to "manage" His Majesty, who, to use a pleasant image of Mr. Bright's, had to be humoured like a shy horse, first being shown the object, made to smell at it, etc., and is gradually induced to lay aside his terror. But there is one part of the adventure which is worth while dwelling on, as it illustrates the Dumas-like imagination of the versatile being who embellished any episode where he was concerned with the most dramatic details. Numbers of these could be instanced, notably the scene where he stood

with the Princess Charlotte after her elopement from her mother, and pointed to the ground which was to be crowded next day with mobs.

Let us see what Lord Campbell says in reference to the King's behaviour on this momentous occasion. After telling us that on April 21st a Cabinet was held, and a resolution unanimously passed to advise the King immediately to dissolve the Parliament, "at the rising of the Cabinet this resolution was communicated by Lord Grey and the Lord Chancellor to His Majesty, who very readily assented to it; and the usual orders were given in the usual manner for the ceremony of a prorogation to take place next day. *Yet, to shake all faith even in contemporary history, within twenty years from the event a publication appeared, professing to be a 'History of the Whig Administration; by John Arthur Roebuck, Esq., M.P. for Sheffield.'* This gentleman was a particularly intimate private friend of Lord Brougham, and professed that he obtained from Lord Brougham authentic information of all the secret proceedings of the Government while Lord Brougham remained in office. The author gives a totally different account of the interview between the King and his two Ministers; *yet, with such claims to authenticity, it is utterly fabulous.*

"Mr. Roebuck's narration being every way so closely connected with the subject of this memoir, I copy it *in extenso*, and it will at all events amuse the reader, although I fear that it violates probability too much to be considered artistically good. He thus describes it in the margin: 'Fabulous statement upon Lord Brougham's authority of his having assumed the functions of royalty.'

"On the morning of the 22nd, Lord Grey and the

Lord Chancellor waited on the King in order to request that he would instantly and on that day dissolve the House. The bolder mind of the Lord Chancellor took the lead, and Lord Grey anxiously solicited him to manage the King on the occasion. So soon as they were admitted, the Chancellor, with some care and circumlocution, propounded to the King the object of the interview they had sought. The startled monarch no sooner understood the drift of the Chancellor's somewhat paraphrastic statement, than he exclaimed in wonder and anger against the very idea of such a proceeding. 'How is it possible, my lords, that I can after this fashion repay the kindness of Parliament to the Queen and myself? They have granted me a most liberal Civil List, and to the Queen a splendid annuity in case she survives me.' The Chancellor confessed that they had, as regarded His Majesty, been a liberal and wise Parliament, but said that, nevertheless, their further existence was incompatible with the peace and safety of the kingdom. Both he and Lord Grey then strenuously insisted upon the absolute necessity of their request, and gave His Majesty to understand that this advice was by his Ministers unanimously resolved on, and that they felt themselves unable to conduct the affairs of the country in the present condition of the Parliament. 'But, my lords, nothing is prepared; the great officers of State are not summoned.' 'Pardon me, sir,' said the Chancellor, bowing with profound apparent humility, 'we have taken the great liberty of giving them to understand that your Majesty commanded their attendance at the proper hour.' 'But, my lords, the crown and the robes, and other things needed, are not prepared.' 'Again I most humbly entreat your Majesty's pardon for my boldness,' said the Chancellor, 'they are all prepared.'

The Chancellor, therefore, with some real hesitation, began as before : ‘ Pardon me, sir ; we know how bold the step is, that, presuming on your goodness and your anxious desire for the safety of your kingdom and happiness of your people, we have presumed to take—I have given orders, and the troops are ready.’ The King started in serious anger, flamed red in the face, and burst forth with : ‘ What, my lords, have you dared to act thus ? Such a thing was never heard of. You, my Lord Chancellor, ought to know that such an act is treason, high treason, my lord.’ After some further expostulations by both his Ministers, the King cooled down and consented. Having consented, he became anxious that everything should be done in the proper manner, and gave minute directions respecting the ceremonial. The speech to be spoken by him at the prorogation was ready prepared, and in the Chancellor’s pocket. To this he agreed ; desired that everybody might punctually attend, and dismissed his Ministers for the moment with something between a menace and a joke upon the audacity of their proceeding.”

Now to turn to what Lord Brougham tells us in his “Autobiography.”

“ It was accordingly resolved that very early next morning we should have a Cabinet before the Speech Council, which was to take place at half-past eleven, and finally resolve on the mode and manner of proceeding. We met accordingly, and almost all agreed to go on, though one or two, appalled by the many increasing difficulties, asked if it was too late to reconsider the whole matter. Here I appealed to the Duke of Richmond, and asked him if he had ever seen a council of war held on the field just before going into action. He said, ‘ By God ! never ; neither I nor anyone else.’

'Then,' said I, 'let us go in to the King.' Grey and I went in, and stated our clear opinion that it would be necessary for him to go in person, though we were most unwilling to give him that trouble. I took care to make him understand the threatened proceedings of the Lords, and the effect the proposed motion for an address was intended to have on His Majesty's proroguing Parliament. He fired up at this—hating dissolution, perhaps, as much as ever, but hating far more the interference with, or attempt to delay, the exercise of the prerogative; and so he at once agreed to go, only saying that all must be done in the usual manner."\*

Now all the stirring dialogue of the latter part of the scene, with, of course, the dramatic companies "business" allotted to himself by the Chancellor, must be a pure fable, and is disposed of by Sir D. Le Marchant and General Grey's accounts; and it is clear that the account given to Mr. Roebuck was coloured up in an extraordinary fashion.

Lord Campbell in his lively style describes the scene in the House of Lords when it was known that the King

\* It seems extraordinary that there should be any controversy about so clear a matter, but when Mr. Molesworth published his "History of the Reform Bill," Lord Grey disputed its correctness in this matter, maintaining that the King had agreed to the prorogation in his answer to the Cabinet Ministers on the 20th. There was no need therefore for all this pressure. Lord Brougham, however, reasserted his statement to Lord Grey himself, and conceived that the King had changed his mind before the 22nd. Lord Grey further urged that the King's having called a Council in morning dress at twelve and not a Cabinet, clearly implies his consent, as a Council is called upon only to indorse what has been previously agreed upon. Another solution might be that the King was opposed to the moment of such a dissolution, thinking it too abrupt, hence the arguments addressed to him. But, in truth, as we have seen, the King was vacillating enough to have again changed his mind, even after solemn agreement.

was on his way down. The most angry passions seem to have been loosed.

"It was reported," says Lord Campbell, "that there being some delay in the arrival of the royal carriage with the eight cream-coloured horses to carry him to Westminster, he exclaimed: 'Never mind; I am ready to go in a hackney-coach.' This, though much less improbable, I daresay is not more true than that the Chancellor, before the King had been consulted about a prorogation, had ordered the great officers of State, the crown, the royal robes, and the military, to be in readiness for the ceremonial at a given hour. But, after diligent inquiry, I can take upon myself to say, that all who had an opportunity of knowing or ascertaining the fact, with the exception of Lord Brougham's *protégé*, concur in testifying that His Majesty, instead of being constrained upon this occasion, most joyously adopted the advice which was tendered to him.

"But, as soon as Brougham was gone, Lord Mansfield, according to the privilege of the Peers, moved that the Earl of Shaftesbury should take the chair as Speaker; which was done immediately. Lord Wharncliffe then rose, to move an address to the King, praying that he would not dissolve the present Parliament. He was interrupted by ministerialists, and at least five Peers were on their legs at one time trying to gain a hearing, and looking as if resolved to come to blows. At last Lord Wharncliffe was permitted to make his motion, and there seemed great danger that it might be carried by acclamation, when Lord Shaftesbury was dislodged from the Woolsack by the appearance of the Lord Chancellor in a state of great distraction, and screaming out in the most passionate tone of voice: —

"'I never yet heard that the Crown ought not to

dissolve Parliament whenever it thought fit, particularly at a moment when the House of Commons had resorted to the extreme step of refusing the supplies.'

"There were loud cries of '*Hear, hear! The King, the King!*' and (according to Hansard) 'altogether immense confusion.'

"The Lord Chancellor thought he had effectually prevented any further attempt at discussion, and again withdrew. But no sooner was he gone than Lord Shaftesbury was again placed on the Woolsack, and Lord Mansfield was declaiming furiously against the dissolution and against the Reform Bill, when cries were heard of '*The King, the King! God save the King!*' At that instant the large doors were thrown open on the right of the throne, and His Majesty, accompanied by the Chancellor and other great officers, entered the House with a firm though rather hasty step, and having seated himself on the throne, looked round to the quarter from which the disturbance had come with evident signs of anger. The Commons were then summoned, and when they had arrived His Majesty began: 'My Lords and Gentlemen, I have come to meet you for the purpose of proroguing the Parliament, *with a view to its immediate DISSOLUTION*'—pronouncing the word with deep emphasis and evident exultation. We do not follow the fashion of the French, who on these occasions holloo out, '*Vive le Roi!*' or '*Vive l'Empereur!*' (as it may be) while His French Majesty is still sitting on his throne; but when our Sailor King was returning to his palace he was saluted with loud cries of '*Well done, old boy! served them right!* Three cheers for the King and Reform! Hip, hip, hurrah!' And he seemed much delighted with the applause which he received."

The Chancellor's own account of his share in the scene adds several dramatic touches :

" Having to go home in order to dress, the gold gown being required, I got to the House soon after two o'clock, the hour to which we had adjourned ; and, after prayers, I left the Woolsack, in order that I might be in readiness to receive His Majesty. Lord Shaftesbury, on the motion of Lord Mansfield, then took the Woolsack, and Wharncliffe rose to move the address of which he had given notice. Then began a scene which, as it was represented to me, was never exceeded in violence and uproar by any bear-garden exhibition. The Duke of Richmond, interrupting Wharncliffe, moved that the Lords take their seats in their proper places ; for, said he, I see a junior baron (Lyndhurst) sitting on the Dukes' bench. Lyndhurst, starting up, exclaimed that Richmond's conduct was most disorderly, and *shook his fist at him*. This brought up Londonderry, who did not speak, but screamed that the noble Duke, in his attempt to stop Wharncliffe, had resorted to a wretched shift.\* Wharncliffe then began by reading the words of his motion. I was here told by Durham what was going on, and that unless the King came soon the Lords would vote the address, because Wharncliffe meant to make no speech ; so I rushed back into the House, and began by exclaiming against the unheard-of doctrine that the Crown ought not to dissolve at a moment when the House of Commons had refused the supplies. This was loudly denied, but I

\* Mr. Greville also adds some lively sketches. Lord Londonderry was in such a fury that he rose, roared, gesticulated, held up his fist, and four or five lords held him down by the tail of his coat to prevent his flying at somebody. Lord Lyndhurst was equally furious, and some sharp words passed which were not distinctly heard.

persisted that the vote I referred to had in fact that effect. I went on purposely speaking until we heard the guns. Then came great interruptions and cries of order, which continued until a messenger summoned me, when I said I had the King's commands to attend him in the Painted Chamber. Shaftesbury again took the Woolsack, and they continued debating until the procession entered. When the door was thrown open, the King asked me 'What noise that was?' and I answered, 'If it please your Majesty, it is the Lords debating.' He asked if we should stop, but was told that all would be silent the moment he entered. The Commons were summoned in the usual way; and, having received the Speech, he read it with a clear and firm voice. I doubt if any part of it was listened to beyond the first sentence, prefixed to the draft, and which I alone had any hand in writing: 'I am come to meet you for the purpose of proroguing this Parliament, with a view to its *immediate* dissolution.' He dwelt upon 'immediate.' While we were waiting for the rest of the Commons, beside the Speaker and the few who accompanied him, the King asked me many questions, as to who such and such peers were, and what were the names of the commoners who stood behind the bar. I remember Cobbett was one, whom he had never seen before."

Such a scene of agitation was naturally acceptable to the King, who was, of course, the centre figure. "The King," says Mr. Greville, "ought not properly to have worn the crown, never having been crowned; but when he was in the robing-room, he said to Lord Hastings: 'Lord Hastings, I wear the crown; where is it?' It was brought to him, and when Lord Hastings was going to put it on his head, he said: 'Nobody shall

put the crown on my head but myself.' He put it on, and then turned to Lord Grey and said : 'Now, my lord, the coronation is over.' George Villiers said that in his life he never saw such a scene, and as he looked at the King upon the throne with the crown loose upon his head, and the tall, grim figure of Lord Grey close beside him, with the sword of State in his hand, it was as if the King had got his executioner by his side." Lord Lyndhurst told Mr. Greville that he never saw the King so excited before, and in his robes he looked very grand.

What had taken place in the House of Commons was not less violent and exciting. The late Lord Belper thus recalls the riotous scene: "I was present during the whole of this scene, which I distinctly remember. After Sir Richard Vyvyan had been heard at great length against the Government, Sir Francis Burdett and Sir Robert Peel both rose at the same time, and the Speaker called on Sir Robert Peel. This was thought most unfair by our side of the House, as it deprived them of any hearing whatever. Lord Althorp immediately rose amidst great clamour, interposing before Sir Robert Peel, and as soon as he succeeded in obtaining a hearing, he said that he believed he was in order in now moving 'That Sir Francis Burdett be now heard.' The Speaker replied that Lord Althorp *was* in order, and put the question, but immediately after called upon Sir Robert Peel to speak to it, allowing him to make a general speech against the Government, which was no doubt a most irregular proceeding. But it is quite certain that in moving for Sir Francis Burdett being heard, Lord Althorp was never 'in possession of the House.'"

Sir Denis Le Marchant, to whom this account

was supplied, adds of Sir Robert Peel's speech, that "Amidst the cheers and groans it was difficult to catch his words, but I was told that he said the time was approaching when no man of honour could serve the Crown. He was angry enough to say anything, and it was quite as well for him that the arrival of the Usher of the Black Rod interrupted his speech by summoning the House to the Lords to receive his sentence. Lord Althorp headed the triumphant Liberals."

"The floor," says Lord Brougham, "was covered with members; half the House had left their seats, and the Opposition seemed perfectly frantic. W. Banks looked as if his face would burst with blood. Peel stormed. The Speaker was equally furious. Sir Henry Hardinge crossed the House, and said: 'The next time you hear those guns, they will be shotted and take off some of your heads.' A strange scene indeed."

So ends the first act of the Reform Bill.

END OF VOL. I.



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